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A

SUMMARY

OF

MODERN HISTORY.

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MODERN HISTORY.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. MICHELET;

AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY

M. C. M. SIMPSON,

TRANSLATOR OF

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

BY THE AUTHOR.

1837.

IT is more necessary in a Summary than in any other form of composition to remember for whom it is written. This book is primarily intended to serve as a text book for young students.

As it may chance, however, to fall into the hands of readers of a different class, I think it right to explain the object and form of my Précis, lest false expectations should be raised as to its contents.

In the first place I have laid more stress upon Political events than upon the History of Religion, of Institutions, of Commerce, of Literature, or of Art. I am aware that the latter is the more important study, but it is desirable to begin with the former.

I have given no great number of facts or dates in this little book. It is a Summary; not a table of historical events such as those which I have previously published. My "Table

of Dates and Synchronisms" were so to speak simple repositories in which a date might be sought, or a fact verified. But my present object is entirely different; it is to leave a durable impression of Modern History as a whole on the minds of my young readers.

To attain this end I found it necessary, first, to mark out broadly and simply the dramatic unity which characterises the History of the last three Centuries and then to present the ideas which have successively influenced its course, not in the form of abstract statements, but in that of characteristic facts which might lay hold of the imagination of the young. These facts are few but typical, so that the same instances may present a succession of pictures to the child, and a chain of ideas to the maturer student. I am stating, it must be remembered, what I have desired to do rather than what I have succeeded in doing.

The affairs of the Northern and Eastern nations of Europe occupy a comparatively small space in this Summary. The narrow bounds within which it had to be kept have not allowed me to develop their history as fully as that of the nations which have led the march of European civilization.

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SUMMARY

OF

MODERN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Ancient History of Europe the scene is occupied alternately by two predominant nations or peoples; and for the most part there is a unity both of action and interest. This unity, which is less visible in the Middle Ages, reappears in Modern History, and manifests itself chiefly in the revolutions of the Balance of Power.

The date which separates the History of the Middle Ages from Modern History cannot be assigned with precision. If we consider the History of the Middle Ages as ending with the last Invasion of the Barbarians (that of the Turks), Modern History will include the three centuries and a half which separate the taking of Constantinople by the Turks from the French Revolution, 1453—1789.

Modern History we may divide into three great periods:—

I. From the taking of Constantinople to Luther's Reformation, 1453—1517.

II. From the Reformation to the Treaty of Westphalia, 1517—1648.

III. From the Treaty of Westphalia to the French Revolution, 1648—1789.

The system of the Balance of Power, which was coming into existence during the first period, took its perfect shape in the second, and was maintained in the third. When viewed relatively to the Balance of Power, the two latter periods fall into five separate sub-divisions of that system: 1517—1559; 1559—1603; 1603—1648; 1648—1715; 1715—1789.

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN HISTORY.

I. *The great States which are formed by the successive falling in of fiefs have a continuous tendency to swallow up smaller States, either by way of conquest or by marriage.*

(1.) Republics are absorbed by Monarchies; Elective States by Hereditary States. This tendency to absolute unity is checked by the Balance of Power.

(2.) Intermarriages between Sovereigns introduce family connections and rivalries into European politics.

II. *The tendency of Europe to conquer and civilize the rest of the world.* The supremacy of the European States over their colonies was not shaken until the end of the eighteenth century.

(1.) Importance of the great maritime powers. Commercial communication between every quarter of the globe. (Ancient nations had communicated more often through war than by commerce.)

(2.) Politics, influenced in the Middle Ages and up to the end of the sixteenth century by religious interests, became more and more subject in modern times to those of commerce.

III. *Opposition between the Southern races (those of a Latin language and civilization) and the Northern races (those of a Teutonic language and civilization).*

(1.) The Western nations developed civilization and carried it to the most distant countries.

(2.) The Eastern nations (mostly of Sclavonic origin) were for a long time occupied in protecting Europe against

the Barbarians, and their progress in the arts of peace was consequently slower.

(3.) The Scandinavian nations of the North, placed as they are at the furthest bounds of European civilization, were in much the same state as the Sclavonic nations of the East.

FIRST PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

FROM THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS TO LUTHER'S REFORMATION.

1453—1517.

This period, the border-land of the Middle Ages and of Modern History, is less easily characterized than the two following: the events are more complex in their importance, and more difficult to understand in their relation to each other. Each State was making continual efforts towards internal consolidation before joining itself with neighbouring States. The first attempts towards a Balance of Power date from the end of this period.

The nations already civilized in the Middle Ages were brought into subjection by those that had preserved the military temper of the age which preceded them; the Provençals by the French, the Moors by the Spaniards, the Greeks by the Turks, the Italians by the Spaniards and the French.

Internal Condition of the Principal States among the nations of Teutonic origin.—Among these, the only States which were subject to the feudal system, properly so called, a free burgher middle-class (developed through the advance of well-being and industry) had risen up, and supported the Sovereigns against the nobles.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the feudal system had triumphed throughout the Empire; in Castille it had humiliated the Kings; it continued to exist without control in Portugal (which was busily engaged in war and African discoveries); in the three Northern kingdoms

(which, since the Union of Calmar, had been the prey of anarchy); in England through the Wars of the Roses; and in Naples during the quarrels of the Houses of Arragon and Anjou. But in Scotland and in France it was already the object of attack on the part of the Kings. Charles VII., the conqueror of the English, prepared its downfall by his institutions; and before the end of the century, through the reigns of Ferdinand the Catholic and Ferdinand the Bastard, of John II. (of Portugal), of Henry VII., and Louis XI., the Royal Power rose into supremacy on the ruins of Feudalism.

Three States stand apart from this general picture. While other nations tended towards monarchical unity, Italy remained divided; the power of the Dukes of Burgundy reached its height only to crumble away; while the military Republic of Switzerland rose into importance.

Internal Condition of the Sclavonic States.—The aspect of the two great Sclavonic nations presents a difference which reveals to us their destiny. Russia became united, and began to emerge from barbarism; Poland, while modifying her constitution, remained faithful to the anarchical forms of government prevalent during the Middle Ages.

Mutual Relations of the Principal States of East and West.—The European Commonwealth no longer possessed the unity of impulse given to it by religion in the time of the Crusades; nor was it yet clearly divided as it became afterwards by the Reformation. It was separated into several groups, partly from their geographical and partly from their political connection; England with Scotland and France; Arragon with Castille and Italy; Italy and Germany with every other State (either directly or indirectly). Turkey grouped itself with Hungary; Hungary with Bohemia and Austria; Poland formed the common link between the East and the North, of which she was the preponderating influence.

The three kingdoms of the North and Russia formed two worlds apart.

The Western States, most of them a prey to internal discord, rested from foreign wars. In the North, Sweden, which had been chained for sixty years to Denmark, broke the Union of Calmar; Russia emancipated herself from the Tartars; the Teutonic Order became the vassal of Poland. All the Oriental States were threatened by the Turks, who, since the taking of Constantinople, had no longer any cause for apprehension from the nations in their rear, and were held in check only by Hungary. The Emperor, engaged in founding the greatness of his dynasty, and Germany, in repairing the disasters of civil and religious wars, seemed oblivious of danger.

We may set aside therefore the history of the North and the East to follow without interruption the revolutions of the Western States. We shall then see both England and Portugal, and in a yet higher degree Spain and France, take an attitude of imposing grandeur, the result of their conquests in recently discovered countries, and of the union of the whole national authority in the hands of their Kings. In Italy these new forces were to develop themselves through an obstinate contest. We must observe therefore the means by which Italy was opened to foreigners before we enter upon the struggles of which she became the theatre in this and the next period.[1]

[1] The limits of this sketch do not allow us to trace the history of civilization in Europe simultaneously with its political history. We must be satisfied with noting here its starting point in the 15th century. Rise of the spirit of invention and discovery.—In literature, enthusiasm for learning stops for some time the development of modern intellect.—Invention of printing (1436–1452).—More frequent use of gunpowder and of the compass.—Discoveries of the Portuguese and of the Spaniards.—Maritime commerce, until now confined to the Baltic (Hanseatic League) and the Mediterranean (Venice, Genoa, Florence, Barcelona, and Marseilles), is extended to all seas by the voyages of Columbus, of Gama, &c., and passes into the hands of the Western nations towards the end of this period.—Commerce by land; merchant towns of Lombardy, the Low Countries, and the Free Towns of Germany, commercial centres for the North and the South.—Manufacturing industry of the same nations, especially in the Netherlands.

SECOND PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.

1517—1648.

The Second Period of Modern History opened with the rivalry between Francis I., Charles V., and Soliman: above all, it was characterized by the Reformation. The House of Austria, whose colossal power could alone close Europe to the Turks, seemed to have defended only to enslave her. But Charles V. encountered a threefold barrier. Francis I. and Soliman opposed the Emperor from motives of personal ambition, and saved the independence of Europe. When Francis I. was exhausted, Soliman supported him, and Charles met with a new obstacle in the League of the German Protestants. *This is the first Sub-division of the Reformation and the Balance of Power*, 1517—1559.

1559—1603. *Second Sub-division of the Balance of Power and of the Reformation.*—The Reformation had already spread throughout Europe, and especially in France, England, Scotland, and the Low Countries. Spain, the only Western country which remained closed to it, declared herself its adversary. Philip II. endeavoured to bring Europe back to religious unity, and to extend his dominion over all the Western nations. During the whole of the Second Period, and especially during this time, foreign and domestic wars went on together in almost every country.

1603—1648. *Third Sub-division of the Balance of Power and of the Reformation.*—The movement of the Reformation finally brought about two simultaneous, but independent results: a revolution which ended in civil war, and a war which assumed the character of a revolution; or rather, of a Civil War in the European Commonwealth. In England the Reformation triumphed only to divide against itself. In Germany it swept every

State into the whirlpool of the Thirty Years' War. From this chaos arose the system of the Balance of Power, which was to continue during the succeeding period.

The Eastern and Northern nations were no longer foreign to the Western system, as in the preceding periods. In the first of the three periods which we have mentioned, Turkey entered into the Balance of Europe; in the third, Sweden intervened still more decisively in Western affairs. In the second, Livonia brought the Sclavonic States into contact with the Scandinavian, from which they had been completely separated up to that time.

From the commencement of this period the sovereigns held united in their own hands the whole power of the nations they ruled, and offered to their subjects internal peace and distant conquests in exchange for their privileges. Commerce developed itself enormously in spite of the system of monopoly whose organization dates from this time.

THIRD PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

FROM THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1648—1789.

In this period the principal influence was entirely political: it was the *maintenance of the system of the Balance of Power.* The period may be divided into two parts, of about seventy years each: one before the death of Louis XIV., 1648—1715; the other after it, from 1715—1789.

I. 1648—1715. *Fourth Sub-Division of the Balance of Power.*—At the beginning of the third, as at the beginning of the second period, the freedom of Europe was in danger. France occupied among its States the rank previously held by Spain, and wielded besides the influence of a higher civilization.

So long as Louis XIV. had no other adversary than Spain, which was already exhausted, and Holland, which was wholly a maritime power, he gave the law to Europe. At length England, under a second William of Orange, took up once more the part she played in the time of Elizabeth—that of principal antagonist of the power which predominated on the Continent. In concert with Holland she annihilated the pretensions of France to the dominion of the seas. In concert with Austria she drove France back within her natural limits, but was unable to prevent her from establishing in Spain a branch of the House of Bourbon.

Sweden was the first of the Northern Powers. Under two victorious sovereigns, she twice changed the face of the North, but she was too weak to obtain a lasting supremacy. Russia checked her, and took a position of superiority which she has never lost. The political system of the North had little connection with the Southern States, save in so far as they were brought together by the ancient alliance of Sweden with France.

II. 1715—1789. *Fifth Sub-Division of the Balance of Power.*—The rise of the new kingdoms of Prussia and Sardinia marked the first years of the eighteenth century. Prussia became with England the arbitress of Europe, while France was enfeebled, and Russia had not yet attained her full strength.

In the eighteenth century there was less disproportion between the different powers than Europe had witnessed before. The preponderating nation being insular and essentially maritime, had no other interest on the Continent than to maintain the system of balance. It was this consideration which determined her conduct in the three wars between the Western States of the Continent. Austria, already mistress of the greater part of Italy, might have destroyed the Balance of Power; England, her ally, allowed her to be deprived of Naples, which became an independent kingdom. France tried to annihilate Austria; England saved the existence of Austria, but permitted Russia to weaken her, and to become her

rival. Austria and France wanted to annihilate Prussia; England succoured her as she succoured Austria, directly through subsidies, and indirectly by her maritime war with France.

On the sea and in the colonies the Balance of Power was disturbed by England. The contest for the possession of colonies, which is one of the characteristics of this century, gave her an opportunity of ruining the navies of France and Spain, and of claiming a vexatious jurisdiction over neutrals.

A wholly unexpected revolution shook this colossal power to its foundations. The most important of her colonies escaped from the grasp of England, but she opposed a bold front to all her enemies, she founded in the East an Empire as vast as that which she had lost in the West, and remained mistress of the seas.

Russia grew stronger, both through her internal development and through the anarchy of her neighbours. She long maintained a perpetual agitation in Sweden; she plundered Turkey, swallowed up Poland, and advanced into Europe. The political system of the Northern States became more and more amalgamated with that of the Southern and Western States, but it was only the revolutions and bloody wars which broke out at the end of the third period which united into one system all the States of Europe.

FIRST PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

1453—1517.

CHAPTER I.

ITALY.

TURKISH WAR. (1453—1494.)

In the midst of the rude feudalism which still left its stamp upon the fifteenth century, Italy afforded the spectacle of an ancient civilization. She imposed respect upon foreigners by the time-honoured authority of religion and by the splendour of wealth and art. The Frenchman or German who crossed the Alps admired in Lombardy the skilful agriculture and the innumerable canals which turned the valley of the Po into a large garden. He saw Venice rise from the lagoons, a city of wonders, with her marble palaces and her arsenal which employed 50,000 men. From her ports sailed every year 3,000 or 4,000 vessels, some bound for Oran, Cadiz, and Bruges; others for Egypt and Constantinople. By means of her proveditors Venice ruled in almost every port, from the extremity of the Adriatic to that of the Black Sea. Further on rose the ingenious Florence which, though really governed by Cosmo or Lorenzo, still believed herself to be a Republic. At once princes and citizens, merchants and men of letters, the Medici received by the same vessels tissues from Alexandria and manuscripts from Greece. While the doctrines of Plato were revived by the labours of Ficino, Brunelleschi raised the dome

of Santa Maria, in front of which Michael Angelo wished his tomb to be placed. The same enthusiasm for the arts and for letters prevailed in the courts of Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, and Bologna. The Spaniards, who had conquered the Kingdom of Naples, imitated Italian manners, and, as the price of a reconciliation with Cosmo de' Medici, asked nothing more than a fine manuscript of Livy. Finally, in Rome Learning itself, in the persons of Nicholas V. and Pius II., was seated in the Chair of St. Peter. This universal literary culture seems to have softened manners. There were not 1,000 men[1] killed in the bloodiest encounter of the fifteenth century. Battles had almost died into tournaments.

An attentive observer however might easily perceive symptoms of the decline of Italy. The apparent softness of manners proved nothing more than the degeneration of national character. Although less bloody, wars were longer and more ruinous. The Condottieri who marched through Italy were bodies of undisciplined troops always ready to fight under their enemy's flag for the least increase of pay; war had become a lucrative game between the Piccinini and the Sforzas. Everywhere there were petty tyrants, praised by scholars, and detested by the people. Letters, which were Italy's chief boast, had lost the originality of the fourteenth century; Filelphus and Plotinus had succeeded to Dante and Petrarch. Nowhere had Religion more utterly passed out of men's minds. Nepotism was the curse of the Church, and robbed her of the reverence of foreign nations. The usurper of the territories of the Holy See, the Condottiere Sforza, dated his letters in these words: "*e Firmiano nostro invito Petro et Paulo.*"[2]

The expiring genius of Italian liberty still protested by fruitless conspiracies. Porcaro, who believed himself to have been predicted in the verses of Petrarch, endeavoured to restore the Republican Government in

[1] Machiavelli, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. vii.
[2] Machiavelli, book v.

Rome. The Pazzi at Florence, and at Milan young Olgiati and two others, stabbed in church, respectively, Guiliano de' Medici and Galeazzo Sforza (1476—1499)? They fancied in their madness that the liberty of their degenerate country hung upon the life of a single man!

Two Governments passed for the wisest in Italy, those of Florence and of Venice. Lorenzo de' Medici made the Florentines sing his verses, and himself led through the streets of the town pedantic and sumptuous masquerades. He gave himself up blindly to the regal munificence which won the admiration of men of letters, and prepared the bankruptcy of Florence.[1] At Venice, on the other hand, cold self-interest seemed the only law followed by the Government. Neither favouritism, nor caprice, nor prodigality existed there. But this iron Government could last only by drawing closer and closer together the strings of power. The tyranny of the Council of Ten was no longer sufficient, it was necessary to create in the very bosom of this Council Inquisitors of State (1454). Their Dictatorship, if it ensured prosperity in the foreign relations of the State, dried up the sources of its internal prosperity. From 1423 to 1453, Venice had added four provinces to her territory, while her revenue had diminished by more than 100,000 ducats. In vain she attempted to retain by sanguinary measures the monopoly which was eluding her grasp; in vain the State-Inquisitors caused any workman who carried abroad any trade which was useful to the Republic to be stabbed;[2] the time was not far off when Italy was to lose, at once, her commerce, her wealth, and her independence. A new invasion of Barbarians was soon to snatch from her the monopoly of commerce and art, and to make them the patrimony of the world.

Who was to be the conqueror of Italy? The Turk, the Frenchman, or the Spaniard? This is what no foresight

[1] Ginguéné, History of Italian Literature, vol. iii.

[2] Daru, vol. vii. *Pièces justificatives.* Statutes of the Inquisition of State, art. 26.

could determine. The Popes and most of the Italians dreaded the Turks above all. The great Sforza and Alfonzo the Magnanimous thought only of closing Italy to the French, who claimed Naples as the heritage of their kings, and might claim Milan.[1] Venice, believing herself in her lagoons to be beyond the reach of a conqueror, treated indifferently with all; sometimes sacrificing to secondary interests her honour and the safety of Italy.

Such was the situation of Venice when she heard the last cry of distress from Constantinople (1453). Severed already from Europe by schism and by the Turks, this unhappy city saw beneath her walls an army of 300,000 barbarians. At this critical moment the Western nations, accustomed to the complaints of the Greeks, still paid very little attention to her danger. Charles VII. was finishing the expulsion of the English from France; Hungary was torn by civil war; the phlegmatic Frederick III. was busy in raising Austria into an Archduchy. The Genoese and the Venetians, the possessors of Pera and Galata, were calculating their probable loss, instead of endeavouring to prevent it. Genoa sent four vessels; Venice deliberated whether she should give up her conquests in Italy in order to preserve her colonies and her commerce.[2] In the midst of this fatal hesitation, Italy saw the fugitives from Constantinople disembarking on all her coasts. Their tale filled Europe with shame and terror; they lamented the change of St. Sophia into a mosque; the sack and desolation of Constantinople; the enslavement of more than 60,000 Christians; they described the prodigious cannons of Mahomet II., and the moment, when on awaking, the Greeks saw the galleys of the unbelievers sailing across dry ground and being lowered into their harbours.[3]

[1] Sismondi, Italian Republics, vol. x. p. 28.

[2] Daru, History of Venice, vol. ii. book 16; and *Pièces justificatives*, vol. viii.

[3] It is said that the Sultan conveyed his fleet in one night into the harbour of Constantinople, by sliding the ships along planks which

Europe was moved at last; Nicholas V. preached the Crusade; all the Italian States became reconciled at Lodi (1454). In other countries the cross was taken up by thousands. At Lille the Duke of Burgundy presented at a banquet a figure of the Church in tears, and in accordance with the rites of chivalry, swore by God, by the Virgin, by the Ladies, and the Pheasant, that he would go and fight the Infidels.[1] But this enthusiasm lasted only a short time. Nine days after signing the Treaty of Lodi the Venetians contracted another with the Turks. Charles VII. would not allow the Crusade to be preached in France; the Duke of Burgundy stayed at home, and the new attempt of John of Calabria on the kingdom of Naples occupied the whole attention of Italy (1460–64).

The only real champions of Christendom were the Hungarian Hunniades and the Albanian Scanderbeg. The latter, whose savage heroism recalled the ages of fable, is said to have struck off with a single blow the head of a wild bull. He had been seen, like Alexander, whose name the Turks bestowed on him, leaping alone upon the walls of a besieged city. Ten years after his death the Turks divided his bones amongst themselves, believing that they would thus become invincible.[2] To this day the name of Scanderbeg is heard in songs among the mountains of Epirus.

The other *Soldier of Christ*, Hunniades, the *White Knight* of Wallachia, the *Devil* of the Turks, checked their advance, while Scanderbeg made his diversion in their rear.[3] When the Ottomans attacked Belgrade, the

were covered with grease. See Cantimier and Saaduddin, History of the Ottomans, manuscript translation by Galland, cited by M. Daru in his History of Venice, 2nd edition. *Pièces justificatives*, vol. viii. pp. 194–6.

[1] Olivier de la Marche, vol. viii. of the Collection of Memoirs relating to the History of France, edited by M. Petitot.

[2] Barlesio, *de Vita Georgii Castrioti*, 1537, *passim*.

[3] The first was the title always assumed by Scanderbeg; the second was generally the appellation of Hunniades among his contemporaries (Comines, I. vi. chap. xiii.); the third was given him by the Turks, who frightened their children with his name (M. de

bulwark of Hungary, Hunniades broke through the infidel army to throw himself into the town, repulsed during forty days its most vigorous assaults, and was celebrated as the saviour of Christendom.

(1456.) His son, Matthias Corvinus, whom the gratitude of the Hungarians raised to the throne, opposed his *Black Guard*, the first regular infantry this nation ever had, to the Janissaries of Mahomet II. The reign of Matthias was the culminating point of Hungarian glory. While he encountered in turn the Turks, Germans, and Poles, he founded in his capital a university, two academies, an observatory, a museum of antiquities, and a library, which was at that time the most considerable in the world.[1] This rival of Mahomet II. spoke, as the Sultan did, several languages; like him, while he preserved the barbarous customs of his people, he loved letters. He is said to have accepted the offer made to him by a man to assassinate his father-in-law, the King of Bohemia; but he rejected with indignation the proposal to poison him. "*Against my enemies*," he said, "*I employ only steel.*" It is to him that the Hungarians owed their Magna Charta (*Decretum majus*, 1485, see chap. iii.). A Hungarian proverb proclaims his excellence, "Since Corvinus, no more justice." Pope Pius II. and Venice allied themselves with this great Prince, when their conquest of Servia and Bosnia opened for the Turks the road to Italy. The Pontiff was the soul of the Crusade; he appointed Ancona as the place of muster for all who would go with him to fight the enemies of the faith. The skilful Secretary of the Council of Basle, the most polished mind, the most subtle diplomatist of the age, became a hero in the Chair of St. Peter. The great conception of the salvation of Christendom seems to have given him a new soul.[2] But his strength was not suffi-

Say, in the *Biographie Universelle*, art. "Hunniade"), as the Saracens had terrified theirs with that of Richard Cœur de Lion.

[1] Bonfinius, *Rerum Hungaricarum decades*, 1568, *passim*.

[2] *Commentarii Pii Secundi* (1610), pp. 300–400. See also his letters in his collected works.

cient. The old man expired on the shore in sight of the Venetian galleys which were to have carried him to Greece (1464).

His successor, Paul II., abandoned the generous policy of Pius. He armed against the heretical Bohemians the son-in-law of their King, the same Matthias Corvinus whose prowess ought to have been exerted only against the Turks. While the Christians weakened themselves in this way by divisions, Mahomet II. swore solemnly, in the mosque which had formerly been St. Sophia, the utter ruin of Christianity. Venice, abandoned by her allies, lost the island of Eubœa, or Negropont, which was conquered by the Turks within sight of her fleet. In vain Paul II. and Venice sought for allies as far off as Persia; the Shah was defeated by the Turks, and the conquest of Caffa and the Crimea closed for a long time all communication between Persia and Europe. The Turkish cavalry spread at last over the Friuli as far as the Piave, burning the crops, woods, villages, and palaces of the Venetian nobles; the flames of this conflagration were even visible in the night from Venice itself.[1] The Republic abandoned the unequal struggle, which she had sustained unsupported for fifteen years, sacrificed Scutari, and submitted to a tribute (1479).

Pope Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand, King of Naples, who had not succoured Venice, accused her of having betrayed the cause of Christendom. After favouring the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and afterwards making open war upon the Medici, they turned their restless policy against Venice. Her vengeance was cruel.

During the siege of Rhodes, which had been undertaken by the forces of Mahomet II., it was reported that 100 Turkish vessels, observed or rather escorted by the Venetian fleet, had crossed to the coast of Italy; that Otranto was already taken, and the Governor sawn in two. Terror was at its height, and would perhaps have been justified by the result of the invasion, if the death

[1] Sismondi, Italian Republics, vol. xi. p. 141; from Sabellico, an ocular witness.

of the Sultan had not put a stop for a time to the course of Mahometan conquest (1480–81).

It was in this manner that the Italians admitted strangers into their dissensions. After having brought in the Turks, the Venetians enlisted in their service young René, Duke of Lorraine, and heir to the rights which the House of Anjou asserted to the Kingdom of Naples. As far back as the year 1474, Sixtus IV. had called in the Swiss. These *barbarians* became accustomed to crossing the Alps, and recounted in their own country on their return the wonders of beautiful Italy; some celebrated her luxury and her riches, while others praised her climate, her wine, and her delicious fruits.[1] It was then that the prophetic voice of the Dominican Savonarola was heard in Florence announcing to Italy the judgments of Babylon and Nineveh. "O Italy! O Rome! saith the "Lord, I am about to deliver you into the hands of a "nation which shall blot you out from among the peoples. "The Barbarians are coming hungry as lions. . . . And "the deaths will be so many that the gravediggers "will run about the streets, crying 'Who hath any dead?' "and then one will bring his father and another his "son. . . . O Rome, I repeat to thee, Repent! Repent, "O Venice! O Milan!"[2]

They persisted. The King of Naples made prisoners of his Barons, who fell into the snare of a perfidious treaty. Genoa remained a prey to the factions of the Adorni and the Fregosi. Lorenzo de' Medici on his deathbed refused absolution on the condition attached by Savonarola, that he should affranchise Florence. At Milan, Ludovico the Moor imprisoned his nephew and wanted for the moment to poison him. Roderigo Borgia assumed the tiara under the name of Alexander VI. The inevitable moment had arrived.

[1] See "La trés-joyeuse, plaisante, et récréative histoire," composed by the "loyal serviteur du bon Chevalier sans paour et sans reproche," vol. xv. of the Collection of *Mémoires*, pp. 306, 334, 385.

[2] Savonarola, *Prediche quadragesimali* (1544), in 12°. Predica vigesima prima, pp. 211–212. See also *Petri Martyris Anglerii epistol.* cxxx., cxxxi., &c. "Woe to thee, Mother of the Arts, beautiful Italy!" (1493).

CHAPTER II.

WESTERN EUROPE.

FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES, ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

BEFORE fighting with one another for the possession of Italy, it was necessary that the great Powers of the West should emerge from the anarchy of feudalism, and concentrate their whole national strength in the hands of their Kings. The triumph of Monarchy over Feudalism is the subject of this chapter. With Feudalism disappeared the privileges and liberties of the Middle Ages. Their liberties perished, like those of antiquity, because they were privileges. Social equality could only be established by the triumph of Monarchy.[1]

The instruments of this revolution were the clergy and the lawyers. The Church, recruited only through election in the midst of the universal system of hereditary succession which was established during the Middle Ages, had often raised the vanquished above the victors, the sons of citizens, and even of serfs, above nobles. It was from the Church that the Kings obtained ministers in their last struggle against the aristocracy. Duprat, Wolsey, and Ximenes, although they were Cardinals and

[1] Equality made rapid progress at the very moment when the political liberties of the Middle Ages disappeared. The liberties of Spain were suppressed by Charles V. in 1521; and in 1523 the Cortes of Castille permitted everyone to wear a sword, "*in order that the Burghers may be able to defend themselves against the Nobles.*" See Ferreras, 12th part.

Prime Ministers, sprang from obscure families. Ximenes began by teaching law in his own house.[1] The Churchmen and Legists were imbued with the principles of Roman Law, which were far more favourable than feudal customs to the power of the Crown and to civil equality.

This revolution took different forms in different States. In England it was prepared and accelerated by a terrible war which exterminated the nobility: in Spain it was complicated by the struggles of religious belief. But there is one characteristic which it preserved everywhere: the aristocracy, already conquered by the Crown, endeavoured to shake its power by overturning the Royal Houses, in order to substitute rival branches for those in possession of the throne (*see the first of the Tables of Synchronisms*). The means employed by both parties were odious and often atrocious. Politics, in their infancy, hesitated between violence and perfidy; as we shall see further on in the deaths of the Earls of Douglas, of the Dukes of Braganza and of Viseu, above all, in those of the Earl of Mar and the Dukes of Clarence and Guienne.

Yet posterity, deceived by success, has exaggerated the talents of the Princes of this period (of Louis XI., Ferdinand the Bastard, Henry VII., Ivan III., &c). The cleverest of them all, Ferdinand the Catholic, is no better, in the opinion of Machiavelli, than a fortunate trickster. (*Lettres familières.* April 1513—May 1514.)

§ I. FRANCE, 1452—1494.[2]

When the retirement of the English permitted France to look about her, the labourers, on leaving the castles

[1] Gonecius, fol. 2. Giannone remarks that, under Ferdinand the Bastard, Roman law got the better of Lombard law at Naples, through the influence of its Professors, who were at the same time judges and advocates (lxxviii. chap. v.).

[2] *Principal Authorities.*—Vols. ix., x., xi., xii., xiii., xiv. of the Collection of Memoirs edited by Petitot: especially the Memoirs of Comines; the History of the Dukes of Burgundy by M. de Barante, vol. vii.; Michelet's History of France.

and fortified towns within which war had confined them, returned to find their fields untilled and their villages in ruins. The disbanded mercenaries continued to infest the roads and levy contributions on the peasants. The feudal lords, who had just assisted Charles VII. in driving out the English, were kings on their own estates; and recognized no law, either human or divine. A Count of Armagnac, styling himself "*Count by the grace of God*," hanged the officers of the Parliament, married his own sister, and beat his confessor when he refused to absolve him.[1] For three years the brother of the Duke of Brittany was seen begging his bread through the bars of his prison, until his brother caused him to be strangled.

It was towards the King that the hopes of the unhappy people turned; it was from him that some alleviation of their misery was looked for. Feudalism, which in the tenth century had been the salvation of Europe, had now become its scourge. After the wars with England this system seemed to regain its former strength. Besides the Counts of Albret, of Foix, of Armagnac, and many other nobles, the Houses of Burgundy, Brittany, and Anjou rivalled the Royal House in splendour and power.

The County of Provence, which had fallen by inheritance to the House of Anjou, was a sort of centre for the people of the South, as Flanders was for those of the North; to this rich county its lords added Maine, Lorraine, and Anjou, and thus surrounded on all sides the territories immediately subject to the King. The spirit of ancient chivalry seemed to have taken refuge in this heroic family; the world was filled with the exploits and calamities of King René and his children. While his daughter, Margaret of Anjou, maintained in ten battles the rights of the Red Rose, John of Calabria, his son, took and lost the Kingdom of Naples, and died at the

[1] Records of the Trial of John IV., Count of Armagnac, quoted by the authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*. It was John V. who married his sister.

moment when the enthusiasm of the Catalans would have lifted him to the throne of Arragon. But its vast hopes and distant wars left the House of Anjou powerless in France itself, and beside this, the character of its head was little fitted to maintain an obstinate struggle against the power of the Crown. The good René, in his latter years, employed himself only in pastoral poetry, painting, and astrology. When he was told that Louis XI. had deprived him of Anjou, he was painting a beautiful grey pheasant, and did not interrupt his work.

The real head of French Feudalism was the Duke of Burgundy. This Prince, richer than any King in Europe, united under his rule French Provinces and German States, a numerous nobility, and the most commercial towns in Europe. Ghent and Liége could each bring into the field 40,000 fighting men. But the elements which composed this great power were too discordant to harmonise. The Dutch would not obey the Flemish, nor the Flemish the Burgundians. An implacable hatred subsisted between the nobility in their castles and the citizens of the commercial towns. These proud and opulent cities united with the industrial spirit of modern times the violence of feudal manners. As soon as the slightest attempt was made on the privileges of Ghent, the Deans of the Trades tolled the bell of Roland, and set up their standards in the market-place. Then the Duke and his nobles mounted their horses, and battles and bloodshed were sure to follow.

The King of France, on the other hand, was supported by the towns. Within his immediate dominions the lower orders were far better protected against the nobles. It was a citizen, Jacques Cœur, who lent him the money for the reconquest of Normandy. Everywhere the King repressed the license of the soldiery. As early as 1411 he had relieved the kingdom from the *Free Companies* by sending them against the Swiss, who made an end of them at the battle of St. Jacques. At the same time he founded the Parliament of Toulouse, extended the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris in spite of the remon-

strances of the Duke of Burgundy, and limited everywhere the privileges of private justice claimed by the feudal lords. When they saw an Armagnac exiled, an Alençon imprisoned, and a Bastard of the House of Bourbon cast into the river, the nobles understood that no rank placed them above the law. So happy a revolution caused all the innovations favourable to the power of the monarchy to be received without distrust. Charles VII. created a permanent army of 1,500 lances, instituted a militia of Free Archers, who were to remain at home and train themselves in arms on Sundays; he imposed a perpetual tax on the people without the authorization of the States-General, and nobody murmured (1444).

The nobles themselves contributed to augment the power of the Crown, which they wielded by turns. Those who had no influence over the King intrigued with the Dauphin, and excited him against his father. The face of affairs changed when Charles VII. fell a victim to the anxieties caused by his son, who had retired into Burgundy (1461). At the King's funeral Dunois proclaimed to the assembled nobles, "The King our master is dead; let each one look to his own interest."

Louis XI. had nothing of the chivalrous temper which won from the French forgiveness for the many weaknesses of Charles VII. He preferred negotiation to war, dressed meanly, and surrounded himself with men of low rank. He chose a footman for his herald, a barber as gentleman of the chamber, and called the Provost-Marshal Tristan his "*gossip*." In his impatience to humiliate the nobles, he dismissed at his accession all the ministers of Charles VII.; he deprived the nobility of all influence in ecclesiastical elections by abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction; he irritated the Duke of Brittany by endeavouring to take away from him his sovereign rights; and the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy, by repurchasing the towns on the Somme, and attempting to take back from him the gift of Normandy. Finally, he offended all the nobles by paying no regard to their

rights of hunting and shooting—the bitterest offence, perhaps, that could be offered to a noble of the time. The wrath of the nobility did not burst out in revolt until the weakness of the Duke of Burgundy had thrown the whole of his power into the hands of his son, the Comte de Charolais, so celebrated afterwards under the name of Charles the Bold. Then Duke John of Calabria, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Nemours, the Count of Armagnac, the Lord of Albret, the Count of Dunois, and many other nobles leagued together *"for the public weal"* with the Duke of Brittany and the Count of Charolais. They arranged their proceedings by means of envoys who met in the church of Notre-Dame in Paris, and took as their rallying signal a knot of red silk. To this almost universal coalition of the nobles the King tried to oppose the towns, and especially Paris. He abolished almost all the arbitrary taxes, called together a Council of citizens and members of the Parliament and University; confided the Queen to the charge of the Parisians, and ordered her confinement to take place in the city,—*"that town which he loved better than any other in the world."* There was little unanimity in the attack of the Confederates. Louis XI. had time to overpower the Duke of Bourbon. The Duke of Brittany did not join the principal army till after it had encountered the royal forces in the Battle of Montlhéri. War had been so completely forgotten since the expulsion of the English that, with the exception of a few regiments, the armies on both sides fled.[1] The King then commenced insidious negotiations, and the imminent dissolution of the League decided the Confederates to treat at Conflans and at St. Maur (1465). The King granted all their demands; to his brother he surrendered Normandy, a province which in itself yielded a third of the royal revenue; to the Count de Charolais the towns on the Somme; to all the rest, fortresses, lordships, and pensions. In order that the *public weal* might not be entirely forgotten, it was stipulated, for form's sake, that

[1] Comines, book i. chap. iv.

an Assembly of Notables should see to it. The majority of the other articles were not executed more seriously than this last; the King took advantage of the revolt of Liége and Dinant against the Duke of Burgundy to retake Normandy; he obliged the States-General of the Kingdom (at Tours in 1466) to annul the principal articles of the Treaty of Conflans, and forced the Duke of Brittany to renounce the alliance of the Count of Charolais, who now became Duke of Burgundy.

Louis XI., who still hoped to appease even Charles of Burgundy by dexterity, went himself to meet him at Péronne (1468). He had scarcely arrived when the Duke heard of the revolt of the citizens of Liége, a revolt excited by agents of the King. They had taken prisoner Louis of Bourbon, their Bishop, had massacred his Archdeacon, and, in horrible merriment, had tossed his limbs from one to the other. The fury of the Duke of Burgundy was so great that for a moment the King feared for his own life. Within the enclosure of the Castle of Péronne he beheld the tower in which the Count of Vermandois had in former times murdered Charles the Simple. He escaped, however, on better terms. The Duke contented himself with forcing him to confirm the Treaty of Conflans, and with bringing him before Liége to witness the destruction of the town. The King on his return did not fail to cause the States-General to annul all that he had sworn.

A more formidable Confederation than that of the *Public Weal* was next formed against him. His brother, on whom he had just bestowed Guienne, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany had drawn into it most of the nobles who had before been faithful to the King. They invited the King of Arragon, Juan II., who claimed the province of Roussillon, and the King of England, Edward IV., brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy, who felt the necessity of establishing his crown by diverting the restless minds of his subjects to foreign conquests. The Duke of Brittany did not conceal the views of the Confederates. "I am so fond of the kingdom

of France," he said, "that instead of one King, I would have six." Louis XI. could not hope on this occasion for the support of the towns, which he had ground down with taxes. The death of his brother could alone break the League; and his brother died. The King received constant information as to the advance of his brother's malady; he ordered public prayers for the recovery of the Duke of Guienne, and at the same time sent troops to take possession of his appanage. He stifled the law proceedings which began against the monk who was suspected of having poisoned the Prince, and ordered a report to be spread that the devil had strangled him in prison.

Once delivered from his brother, Louis XI. repulsed Juan II. from Roussillon, Charles the Bold from Picardy, and secured all his enemies within the kingdom.[1] But the greatest danger had not yet passed away. The King of England disembarked at Calais, claiming as usual "*his kingdom of France.*" The English nation had made great exertions for this war. "*The King,*" says Comines, "*had in his army ten or twelve stout men from London and other towns; they were among the principal commons of England, and had joined in promoting this invasion and in raising this powerful army.*" Instead of receiving the English on their arrival, and guiding them through a country where all was new to them, the Duke of Burgundy had gone to fight in Germany. The weather too proved bad; although Edward "*took care to lodge in comfortable tents the commons who had followed him, it was not the sort of life they were used to, and they were soon tired of it; they thought that when once they had crossed the sea they would have had a battle in three days*" (Comines,

[1] Of the Duke of Alençon by imprisoning him (1472); of King René by depriving him of Anjou (1474); of the Duke of Bourbon by bestowing Anne of France upon his brother (1473-74), and by nominating him as his Lieutenant in many provinces of the South (1475); and finally, of the Count of Armagnac and of Charles of Albret (1473), of the Duke of Nemours and of the Constable of St. Pol (1475-77), by causing them all four to be put to death.

l. iv. ch. xi.). Louis found means to induce the King and his favourites to accept presents and pensions; kept an open table for all the soldiers, and congratulated himself on having got rid of an army which came to conquer France, by spending a little money.

After this time he had nothing more to fear from Charles the Bold. This proud Prince had conceived the design of re-establishing on a vaster scale the ancient Kingdom of Burgundy by uniting to his own States, Lorraine, Provence, Dauphiny, and Switzerland. Louis XI. took care not to make him uneasy; he prolonged the truces, and allowed him "*to go and knock his head against Germany.*" In fact, on the Duke's attempt to force the town of Neuss to receive one of two pretenders to the Archbishopric of Cologne, all the Princes of the Empire came to watch his proceedings with an army of 100,000 men. He stuck to his enterprise obstinately for a whole year, and left this unlucky siege only to turn his army against the Swiss.

This people of citizens and peasants, who had shaken off for the last two centuries the yoke of the House of Austria, had always been detested by princes and nobles. Louis XI., while Dauphin, had experienced the bravery of the Swiss at the battle of St. Jacques, where 1,600 of them had chosen to die rather than retreat before 20,000 men. Nevertheless the Lord of Hagenbach, the Governor appointed by the Duke of Burgundy in the county of Ferrette, tormented their allies, and did not fear insulting the Swiss themselves. "*We will flay the Bear of Berne,*" said he, "*and turn his skin into a cloak.*" The patience of the Swiss was tired out; they allied themselves with their old enemies the Austrians, cut off Hagenbach's head, and defeated the Burgundians at Héricourt. They endeavoured to appease the Duke of Burgundy; and represented to him that he could gain nothing by opposing them. "*There is more gold,*" said they, "*in the spurs of your knights, than you would find in all our cantons.*" The Duke was inflexible. He invaded Lorraine and Switzerland, took Granson and

drowned all the garrison, who had surrendered to him on parole. The Swiss army, however, was advancing; the Duke of Burgundy had the imprudence to go to meet it, and thus to lose the advantage which the plain gave to his cavalry. Taking his stand on the hill which still bears his name, he saw them rush down from the mountains, crying "*Granson! Granson!*" At the same time two horns of monstrous size, given formerly (it was said) to the Swiss by Charles the Great, and which were named the Bull of Uri and the Cow of Unterwalden, resounded through the valley. Nothing could stop the Confederates. The Burgundians tried again and again without success to break through the forest of pikes which advanced at a run. The rout was soon complete; the Duke's camp, his guns and his treasures fell into the conquerors' hands. But they were ignorant of the value of their booty. The large diamond of the Duke of Burgundy was sold for a crown; the money contained in his treasury was divided without being counted, and measured out in hatfuls. But Charles the Bold learned nothing by adversity. Three months afterwards he again attacked the Swiss at Morat, and experienced a still more bloody defeat. The conquerors gave no quarter, and raised a mound with the bones of the Burgundians. "*Pitiless as at Morat,*" was long a popular saying among the Swiss (1476).

This defeat was the ruin of Charles the Bold. He had drained his good towns of men and money; he had kept his nobles for two years under arms. He fell into a melancholy which resembled madness; he let his beard grow, and never changed his clothes. He insisted upon driving out of Lorraine the young René, who had just returned thither. This Prince, who had fought for the Swiss, who liked to speak their tongue and sometimes adopted their costume, soon saw them come to his assistance. The Duke of Burgundy, whose force was reduced to 3,000 men, would not flee "*before a child;*" but he had little hope of success. Just before the battle the Italian Campo Basso, with whom Louis XI. had long

been bargaining for the life of Charles the Bold, tore off the red cross, and thus began the defeat of the Burgundians (1477). Some days afterwards the body of the Duke was found, and carried with great pomp to Nancy; René sprinkled it with holy water, and taking the lifeless hand, "*Fair Cousin,*" he said, "*may God receive your soul! you have caused us much evil and sorrow!*" But the people would not believe in the death of a Prince who had so long been renowned. They continued to assert that he would soon come back; and, ten years afterwards, merchants were delivering their goods without payment, on condition that they should receive double the amount on the return of the great Duke of Burgundy. The fall of the House of Burgundy established the dynasty of France. The possessors of three great fiefs, Burgundy, Provence, and Brittany, having died without male issue, the French Kings dismembered the first (1477), acquired the second by bequest (1481), and the third by means of a marriage (1491).

Louis XI. hoped to obtain the whole inheritance of Charles the Bold by marrying the Dauphin to his daughter, Mary of Burgundy. But the Flemish States, who were tired of obeying Frenchmen, bestowed the hand of their Sovereign on Maximilian of Austria, afterwards Emperor, and grandfather of Charles V. This was the beginning of the rivalry between the Houses of Austria and of France. In spite of the defeat of the French at Guinegate, Louis XI. remained master of Artois and the Franche Comté, which, by the treaty of Arras (1461), were to form the dowry of Margaret, the Archduke's daughter, on her betrothal to the Dauphin (Charles VIII.).

When Louis XI. left the kingdom to his son, who was still in infancy (1483), France, which had suffered much in silence, at length raised her voice. The States-General, assembled in 1484 by the Regent, Anne of Beaujeu, wished to give its delegates the chief influence in the Council of Regency, to vote the supplies for only two years, at the end of which they would be again

assembled, and themselves to decide on the taxes which should be levied. The six *nations* into which the States were divided began to draw together, and aimed at forming themselves into "*pays d'état*" like Languedoc and Normandy, when the dissolution of the Assembly was proclaimed. The Regent continued the system of Louis XI. by her firmness with regard to the nobles. She overpowered the Duke of Orleans, who disputed with her the Regency; and annexed Brittany to the Crown by marrying her brother to the heiress of that Duchy (1491).

The humiliation of the nobles was thus accomplished. France attained the unity which was to render her formidable to all Europe. To the old servants of Louis XI. succeeded another generation, young and ardent as their new King. Impatient to make good the claims which he had inherited from the House of Anjou to the Kingdom of Naples, Charles VIII. bought peace of the King of England, restored Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, Artois and the Franche Comté to Maximilian; and thus without hesitation sacrificed three of the strongest barriers of France. The loss of a few provinces signified little to a sovereign who looked on himself as the future conqueror of the Kingdom of Naples, and of the Empire of the East.

§ II. England, 1454—1509; Scotland, 1452—1513.

After having been constantly beaten for a century by the English, the French, at last, had their turn. In every campaign the English, driven from town after town by Dunois or Richemont, returned to their country covered with shame, and indignantly accusing their generals and their ministers; at one time it was the quarrels between the King's uncles, at another the recall of the Duke of York, which caused their defeat. To the conqueror of Agincourt had succeeded Henry VI., a boy whose innocence and gentleness were little fitted for those troublous

times, and whose feeble reason was completely put to flight at the beginning of the Civil Wars. While the annual revenue of the Crown had fallen to 5,000*l.* sterling,[1] many great families had accumulated royal fortunes by marriage and inheritance. The Earl of Warwick alone, the last and most illustrious example of feudal hospitality, maintained thousands of retainers in his household. When he kept house in London his vassals and friends consumed six oxen at a meal. This colossal fortune was backed by all the talents of a party leader. His courage had no relation to the chivalrous ideas of honour: for this man, who had been seen to attack a fleet double in numbers to his own, often fled without blushing when he saw his men giving way. Pitiless to the nobles, he spared the people in battle. How can we be surprised therefore at his earning the surname of *King-maker?*

The Court, already feeble against men like these, seemed to take pleasure in aggravating the discontent of the people. When the hatred of the English against the French was embittered by so many reverses, they were given a French Queen. The beautiful Margaret of Anjou, a daughter of King René of Provence, carried to England the heroism, but none of the gentle virtues, of her family. Henry purchased her hand by the cession of Maine and Anjou: instead of receiving a dower, he bestowed one. Scarcely a year passed after this marriage when the King's uncle, "*the Good Duke of Gloucester*," whom the nation adored because he was always wishing for war, was found dead in his bed. Tidings of one misfortune after another arrived from France: while still indignant at the loss of Maine and Anjou, the English heard that Rouen and the whole of Normandy had been taken by the French; their army found no resistance in Guienne. Hardly a single soldier was sent from England, not one Governor attempted resistance, and, in August 1451, England's sole possession on the Continent was the town of Calais.

[1] See Hume and Lingard, for this time, and especially Comines, book iii., chap. iv.

The national pride, so cruelly humiliated, began to seek an avenger. All eyes were turned towards Richard of York, whose rights, though long proscribed, were superior to those of the House of Lancaster. The Nevilles and great numbers of the nobility rallied round him. The Earl of Suffolk, the Queen's favourite, was their first victim. Then an impostor stirred up the men of Kent, always ready for revolt, led them to London, and cut off the head of Lord Saye, another of Henry's ministers. The partizans of Richard himself then came in arms to St. Albans, demanding the surrender of Somerset, who after having lost Normandy, had become the chief minister. This was the first blood shed in a war which was to last thirty years, and which cost the lives of eighty nobles and exterminated the ancient baronage of the kingdom. The Duke of York took his King prisoner, carried him in triumph back to London, and contented himself with the title of *Protector* (1455). Margaret of Anjou, however, armed the Northern counties, the constant enemies of innovation. She was beaten at Northampton. Henry fell once more into the hands of his enemies; and the conqueror, no longer concealing his pretensions, made the Parliament declare him presumptive heir to the throne. He was thus close to the object of his ambition, when he encountered near Wakefield an army which the indefatigable Margaret had again assembled. He accepted battle in spite of the inferiority of his forces, was defeated and slain, and his head, with a paper crown upon it, was placed upon the wall of York. His son, hardly twelve years old, was flying with his preceptor, when he was stopped on the bridge of Wakefield. The child fell on his knees, incapable of speaking, and the tutor having named him, "Thy father killed mine," cried Lord Clifford, "and thou must die likewise, thou and thine," and he stabbed him. This barbarous action seems to have opened an abyss between the two parties: and from this time every victory was followed by the execution of the nobles who were taken prisoners.

Then began in a more regular manner the struggle between the White and Red Roses—the rallying signs of the Houses of York and Lancaster. Warwick made the London populace proclaim the son of the Duke of York King, under the name of Edward IV. (1461). Edward, the offspring of civil war, was willing enough to shed blood, but he interested the people on account of the misfortunes of his father and brother; he was only twenty years old, he loved pleasure, and he was the handsomest man of his day. The Lancastrian party had in its favour only its long possession of the throne and the oaths of the people. When the Queen drew the excited rabble of Northern peasants, who lived only by plunder, into the South, London and the rich adjacent counties attached themselves to Edward as a protector.

Warwick soon led his young King to meet Margaret at the village of Towton. It was there that during a whole day, in a heavy fall of snow, the two parties fought with a fury which was remarkable even in civil war. Warwick, seeing his troops give way, killed his horse, and, kissing the cross formed by the handle of his sword, swore that he would share the fate of the meanest of his soldiers. The Lancastrians were precipitated into the waters of the Cock. Edward forbade quarter to be given, and 38,000 men were drowned or massacred. The Queen turned recklessly to foreign nations—to the French; she had already delivered Berwick to the Scotch; she now passed into France, and promised Louis XI. to give him Calais as a pledge in exchange for his feeble and odious assistance. But the fleet which brought the French supplies was destroyed by a storm; she lost the battle of Hexham, and with it her last hope (1463). The unfortunate Henry soon fell once more into the hands of his enemies, and the Queen, after passing through great dangers, at length reached France with her son.

After the victory the spoil had to be divided. Warwick and the other Nevilles had the principal share. But they soon saw succeeding to their favour the re-

lations of Elizabeth Woodville, a lady whom the imprudent passion of Edward IV. had raised to the throne.[1] The King-maker then thought only of destroying his work; he negotiated with France, stirred up the North of England, drew into his party even the brother of the King, the Duke of Clarence; and became master of Edward's person. At one time there were two Kings prisoners in England. But Warwick soon found himself obliged to fly with Clarence, and to cross over to the Continent.

York could be overthrown only by the forces of Lancaster. Warwick therefore made friends with the very Margaret of Anjou who had beheaded his father, and crossed back into England in the ships of the King of France. In vain Charles the Bold had warned the indolent Edward, in vain the people chanted in its ballads the name of the banished earl, and alluded in the rude plays of that time to his virtues and misfortunes. Edward did not awake until he heard that Warwick was marching upon him with upwards of 60,000 men. Betrayed by his own troops at Nottingham, he fled so precipitately that he landed almost alone in the States of the Duke of Burgundy (1470).

While Henry VI. issued from the Tower of London, and the King of France was celebrating by public rejoicings the re-establishment of his ally, Clarence, who repented of having laboured for the House of Lancaster, recalled his brother to England. Edward left Burgundy with supplies secretly furnished to him by the Duke, and disembarked at Ravenspur on the very spot on which in former times Henry IV. had landed to overthrow Richard II. He advanced without impediment, and declared by the way that he demanded only the inheritance of his father, the Duchy of York. He adopted the

[1] A generally accepted tradition says that Warwick was negotiating in France the marriage of the King of England with Bonne of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI., at the time when Edward married Elizabeth Woodville. This tradition is not confirmed by the testimony of the three principal contemporary historians.

ostrich plume[1] and made his followers cry, "*Long live King Henry!*"

But as soon as his army was strong enough he threw down the mask and disputed the throne with the Lancastrians in the field of Barnet. The treachery of Clarence, who passed over to his brother with 12,000 men, and an error which confounded the sun borne on that day as its badge by Edward's party with the star borne by the opposite side, caused the loss of the battle and the death of the Earl of Warwick. Margaret, attacked before she could gather round her her remaining forces, was conquered and taken prisoner with her son at Tewkesbury. The young Prince was led to the King's tent. "Who made you so bold as to enter my kingdom?" asked Edward. "I have come," replied the Prince, undauntedly, "to defend my father's crown and my own inheritance." Edward struck him angrily in the face with his gauntlet, and his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, or perhaps their followers, fell upon him and dispatched him with their daggers.

On the same day that Edward entered London, Henry VI. is said to have perished in the Tower by the hand of Gloucester himself (1471). From that moment the triumph of the White Rose was assured—Edward had only his own brothers to fear. He anticipated Clarence by putting him to death on some frivolous pretext; but Edward himself was poisoned by Gloucester, if a report current at the time (1483) may be believed. (See, above, his expedition into France).

Edward had hardly left the throne to his little son Edward V. when the Duke of Gloucester caused himself to be appointed *Protector*. The Queen-mother, who knew too well the sort of protection which she might expect from this man, whose aspect alone filled her with horror, had taken sanctuary at Westminster. Richard was not stopped by the sacred character of the place, and she trembled while she confided to him her two sons. But

[1] Borne by the followers of the Prince of Wales, son of Henry IV.

he could undertake nothing against them until he had put to death their natural defenders, especially Lord Hastings, the personal friend of Edward. Richard one day entered the Council Chamber with an easy jovial air, then suddenly changing countenance, he asked, "What punishment do those deserve who plot against the life of the Protector? See to what a condition my brother's wife and Jane Shore, his mistress, have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft," and he laid bare his arm which had been shrivelled up from infancy. Then, addressing Hastings, he said, "You are the chief abettor of these people: I swear by St. Paul that I will not dine before your head be brought me!" He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal, seized Hastings, hurried him away, and instantly beheaded him on a timber log which lay in the court of the Tower. The Parliament next declared the young Princes bastards and sons of a bastard. A Doctor Shaw preached to the people from this text, "Bastards' slips shall not thrive:"[1] a dozen workmen threw their bonnets into the air, crying, "God save King Richard!" and he accepted the crown "*in accordance with the voice of the people.*"

His nephews were smothered in the Tower, and long afterwards the skeletons of two children were found under the staircase of the prison. Richard, however, was not firmly seated on his throne. In the depths of Brittany there lived a descendant of the House of Lancaster, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, whose right to the crown was more than doubtful. Through his grandfather, Owen Tudor, he was of Welsh origin, and the Welsh accordingly supported his claim.[2] And with the exception of the Northern counties, where Richard had many partisans,[3] all England was waiting for Richmond's coming

[1] Most of this is taken from Hume, whose words I have used when possible.—TR.

[2] Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête d'Angleterre par les Normands*, vol. iv. p. 153.

[3] An error. The Northern counties were the stronghold of the House of Lancaster.—TR.

to declare itself in his favour. Richard, not knowing whom to trust, hastened the catastrophe by advancing on Bosworth. The two armies were hardly in front of each other when he recognized in the opposite ranks the Stanleys, whom he thought were on his own side. He immediately dashed forward, crown on head, and crying, "Treachery! Treachery!" killed two knights with his own hand, overthrew the enemy's standard, and cut his way to his rival's presence; but he was overpowered by numbers. Lord Stanley tore off his crown and placed it on the head of Henry. The naked body of Richard was thrown behind a horseman and thus carried to Leicester, the head hanging on one side and the feet on the other (1485).

Henry united the rights of both Houses by his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. But his reign was long troubled by the intrigues of Edward's widow and of his sister, the Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy. In the first place they set up against him a young baker who passed himself off as the Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence. Henry, having defeated the partisans of the impostor at the battle of Stoke, employed him as a turnspit in his kitchen, and soon afterwards as a reward for his good conduct gave him the post of Royal Falconer.

A more formidable rival next rose up. This mysterious personage, who resembled Edward IV., assumed the name of that Prince's second son. After a solemn examination, the Duchess of Burgundy recognized him as her nephew, and named ...m publicly "*The White Rose of England.*" Charles VIII. treated him as King; James III. of Scotland gave him one of his relations in marriage; but his attempts were not fortunate. He invaded successively Ireland, the North of England, and Cornwall, but was always repulsed. The inhabitants of Cornwall, deceived in the expectations which they had formed from the accession of a Prince of Welsh extraction, refused to pay taxes, and swore that they would die for the pretender. He was nevertheless taken prisoner,

and forced to read, in Westminster Hall, a confession signed by his own hand. In it he acknowledged that he was born at Tournay, of Jewish parents, and that his name was Perkin Warbeck. Another impostor having taken the name of the Earl of Warwick, Henry VII. resolved to terminate their pretensions by putting to death the real Earl, the King-maker's grandson, who had been confined in the Tower of London from his earliest years, and whose birth was his only crime.

Such was the end of the troubles which had cost England so much blood. Who was vanquished in this long struggle? Neither York nor Lancaster, but the English aristocracy, which had been decimated in battle and despoiled by proscriptions. If Fortescue is to be believed, nearly a fifth of the land of the kingdom fell by confiscation into the hands of Henry VII. What was still more fatal to the power of the nobles, was the law which permitted them to alienate their estates by cutting off the entails. The growing demands of a luxury hitherto unknown made them take advantage greedily of this permission to ruin themselves. In order to live at the Court, they quitted the ancient castles in which they had reigned as sovereigns ever since the Conquest. They gave up the sumptuous hospitality by which they had so long secured the fidelity of their vassals. The followers of the Barons found their banqueting halls and the courts of justice deserted; they abandoned those who had abandoned them, and returned home King's men. (Abolition of the right of Maintenance.) The first care of Henry VII. throughout his reign was to accumulate a treasure. Little confidence could be placed in the future after so many revolutions. Exaction of feudal dues, redemption of feudal services, fines, confiscations, every means seemed good to him for attaining his ends. He obtained money from his Parliament to make war in France, he obtained subsidies from France not to make it, and thus *gained from his subjects by war, and from his enemies by peace* (Bacon). He endeavoured also to support himself by alliances with more firmly established

dynasties: he gave his daughter to the King of Scotland, and obtained the hand of the Infanta of Spain for his son (1502—1503). In his reign navigation and manufactures made their first great start. It was he who equipped the Venetian Sebastian Cabot, who discovered North America in 1498. He granted to several towns exemption from the law which forbade a father to apprentice his son unless he owned land to the amount of twenty shillings a year. Thus at the same moment when Henry VII. founded the absolute power of the Tudors through the abasement of the nobles, we see the beginning of the elevation of the Commons, who were destined a century and a half afterwards to overthrow the Stuarts.

The other kingdom of Great Britain did not attain equal order and regularity until long afterwards. Scotland contained many more elements of disorder than England. In the first place the mountainous character of the country had given greater advantages to the resistance of the conquered races. The sovereignty of the Lowlanders over the Highlanders, of the Saxons[1] over the Celts was purely nominal. The latter acknowledged no sovereign but the hereditary chiefs of their clans. The most powerful of these chiefs, the Lord of the Isles, or Earl of Ross, was, in relation to the Kings of Scotland, more upon the footing of a tributary ruler than on that of a subject: he was the secret or declared friend of all the King's enemies, the ally of England against Scotland, of the Douglases against the Stuarts. The first Princes of this dynasty humoured the mountaineers, as they were unable to conquer them: James I. expressly exempted them from obedience to one of his laws, "because," as he said, "*it is their custom to pillage and kill each other.*"[2] Thus the civilization of England, which

[1] The Highlanders called the other inhabitants of Scotland Saxons.

[2] Pinkerton's History of Scotland, from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary, (1797), vol. i. p. 155.

was gradually penetrating into Scotland, stopped short at the Grampians.

Even to the south of these mountains the royal authority found indefatigable adversaries in the lords and barons, especially in the Douglases; that heroic house, which from the accession of the Stuarts had disputed with them the crown, which afterwards had gone to fight the English in France, and had brought back as a trophy the title of Counts of Touraine. Even in their own family of the Stuarts the Kings of Scotland found rivals; their brothers or their cousins, the Dukes of Albany, governed in their name or disturbed them by their ambitious pretensions. To these causes of trouble may be added the unusual occurrence of a succession of six minorities (1437—1578), and we shall understand why Scotland was the last kingdom to emerge from the anarchy of the Middle Ages.

After their retirement from the war in France the struggle with the Douglases became more severe. The Kings exhibited more violence than skill. Under James II. William Douglas, enticed by the Chancellor Crichton into the Castle of Edinburgh, was put to death there with a mere mockery of justice (1440). Another William Douglas, the most insolent of all who had borne that name, having been summoned by the same Prince to Stirling, exasperated him by insulting language and was stabbed by his hand (1452). His brother, James Douglas, marched against the King at the head of 40,000 men, forced him to fly to the North, and would have defeated him had he not insulted the Hamiltons, who until that time had been attached to his family. Abandoned by his followers, Douglas was obliged to take refuge in England, and the Wars of the Roses, at that time just beginning, prevented the English from making use of this dangerous exile to disturb Scotland. The Earls of Angus, a branch of the House of Douglas, received their possessions, but were little less formidable to the Kings. Soon afterwards the Hamiltons also rose, and became, with the Campbells (Earls of Argyle), the most powerful

of the Scottish nobles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Under James III. (1460) Scotland extended herself to the North and South by the acquisition of the Orkneys and Berwick; while the union of the county of Ross to the Crown annihilated for ever the power of the Lord of the Isles. No reign, however had been more disgraceful than that of James III. No prince ever shocked as James did the ideas and habits of his people. What Scotch laird would deign to obey a King who was always shut up in a fortress, caring for none of the warlike sports of the nobles, surrounded by English artists, and deciding questions of peace and war by the advice of a music-master, a mason, or a tailor? He even forbade the nobles to appear in arms at his Court, as if he feared to look upon a sword.

He might indeed have used the affection of the Commons or of the clergy against the nobles, but he alienated both by depriving the cities of the election of their aldermen, and the clergy of the nomination of their dignitaries.

James III., whose estimate of himself was accurate enough, feared that his two brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, might try to supplant so despicable a King. The predictions of an astrologer decided him on confining them in the Castle of Edinburgh. Albany escaped, and the cowardly King thought to secure his own safety by opening the veins of his younger brother. The favourites triumphed; the mason or architect Cochrane ventured to accept his victim's inheritance, and took the title of Earl of Mar. Such was his confidence in the future that, on issuing some false money for circulation, he exclaimed, "Before this money is withdrawn I shall be hanged;" and so in fact he was. The nobles seized the favourites under the eyes of the King and hanged them on Lauder Bridge. Some time afterwards they attacked the King himself, and formed the most extensive league which had ever threatened the throne of Scotland (1488). James had still on his side the Barons of the North

and the West, but he fled at the first encounter, and fell off his horse into a stream. Carried into a neighbouring mill, he asked for a confessor: the priest who presented himself belonged to the enemy's party; he received his confession and stabbed him.[1]

James IV., whom the nobles raised to the throne of his father, had a more successful reign. The barons obeyed him less as their sovereign than as the most brilliant knight in the kingdom. He completed the ruin of the Lord of the Isles by uniting the Hebrides to the Crown; he established Royal Courts of Justice throughout the North of the Kingdom. Neglected by France, James IV. allied himself with Henry VII., King of England. When Henry VIII. invaded France, Louis XII. called upon Scotland for assistance; and Anne of Brittany sent her ring to the King, naming him her knight. James would have thought himself wanting in chivalry if he had not assisted a suppliant Queen. All the nobles and barons of Scotland followed him on this romantic expedition. But he wasted precious time near Flodden in the castle of Lady Heron, where he remained as if spell-bound. Roused by the arrival of the English army, he was conquered in spite of his bravery, and all his nobles were killed with him (1513). The loss of twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of peers, many barons, and 10,000 soldiers left the exhausted nation for the remainder of the century a prey to the intrigues of France and England.

§ III. Spain and Portugal, 1454—1521.

Spain was the battle-field of the Barbarians of the North and South, of the Goths and the Arabs. Confined by the ocean in the Spanish Peninsula, they fought as if in the lists throughout the Middle Ages. Thus the spirit of the Crusades, which agitated for a time all the other nations in Europe, became the very basis of the Spanish cha-

[1] Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 335.

racter, with its fierce intolerance and chivalrous pride heightened by the violence of African passions. For Spain has much in common with the barbarism of the Moors, in spite of the Strait which parts them. The races, the productions, and even the deserts of Africa are to be found on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar.[1] A single battle gave Spain to the Moors, and it took 800 years to rescue her from them.

From the thirteenth century the Christians had got the upper hand; in the fifteenth the Mussulman population, concentrated in the Kingdom of Granada, and with the sea in their rear, could draw back no further; but it was already easy to see which of the two races would attain mastery over Spain. On the Moorish side of the border was a nation of merchants collected in rich cities rendered effeminate by the bath and the climate,[2] and of peaceable agriculturists occupied in their delicious valleys with the cultivation of mulberry trees and silkworms;[3] a lively and ingenious people whose passion was for music and dancing, who loved splendid dresses, and adorned even their tombs. On the other side was a silent people, attired in brown or black, caring only for war, and loving bloodshed; a people who left to the Jews both commerce and science; a race haughty and independent, terrible in love and in religion. Everyone considered himself noble; the citizen boasted that his privilege came by birth and not by purchase; and even the peasant who drew his sword against the Moors felt his rank as a Christian.

These men were no less formidable to their kings than to their enemies. For a long time their sovereigns had

[1] In some parts of Old Castille there is a proverb, "The lark who would fly across country must carry her food with her." (Bory de St. Vincent, *Itinéraire*, p. 281.) For the sterility and depopulated state of Arragon, even in the Middle Ages, see Blancas, quoted by Hallam, vol. i.

[2] Curita, *Secunda parte de los Annales de la corone de Aragon* (1610), vol. iv. book xx.

[3] *Ibid*, vol. iv. book xx. folio, 354. Gomecius, *de Rebus gestis a F. Ximenes* (1569), in folio, p. 60.

been only, as it were, the first of the barons; the King of Arragon sometimes went to law with his subjects before the tribunal of the *Justiza*, or Chief Justiciar of the Kingdom.[1] The spirit of resistance peculiar to the Arragonese had, like the Castillian pride, passed into a proverb: "Give a nail to an Arragonese and he will drive it in with his head instead of a hammer." Their oath of obedience was haughty and threatening: "*We, who individually are as great as you, and who united are more powerful, make you our King on condition that you secure our privileges, and if not, not.*"

The Kings of Spain, therefore, preferred to surround themselves with the *new Christians*, as converted Jews and their children were called. They found in them more intelligence and obedience. The tolerance of the Moors had formerly attracted them to Spain, and, since the year 1400, more than 100,000 Jewish families had been converted. They made themselves necessary to the Kings by their skill in business, and by their learning in medicine and astrology: it was a Jew who, in 1460, operated on the King of Arragon for cataract. Commerce was in their hands; they had drawn, by means of usury, all the money in the kingdom into their hands. They were entrusted by the Kings with the levy of taxes. These were so many titles to the hatred of the people. It burst out several times in a frightful manner in the populous cities of Toledo, Segovia, and Cordova.[2]

The grandees, who saw themselves gradually set aside by the *new Christians*, and generally by men of inferior rank, became the enemies of the royal authority, which they could not turn to their own advantage. Those of Castille armed the Infant Don Henry against his father Juan II., and succeeded in causing the King's favourite, Alvaro de Luna, to be beheaded. His immense possessions were confiscated, and, during three days, a basin placed on the scaffold by the side of his corpse received

[1] Hallam, vol. i. p. 390, 391.
[2] Mariana, liv. xxii., xxiii., A.D. 1446, 1463, 1473.

the alms of those who were willing to contribute to the expense of his burial.[1]

When Henry IV. ascended the throne (1454) he attempted to shake off the grandees who had supported him while Infant; but, at the same time, he irritated the towns by raising taxes on his own authority, and venturing himself to name the deputies for the Cortes.[2] He was, besides, degraded by his connivance in the gallantries of the Queen, and by his cowardice; the Castillians would not obey a prince who left his army at the moment of battle. The chief grandees, Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, Don Juan de Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, and his brother, who was Grand Master of the Orders of Santiago and Calatrava, set up against the King his brother Don Alonzo, who was still under age; declared illegitimate the Infanta, Donna Juana, supposed to be the child of Bertrand de la Cueva, the Queen's lover; exposed upon a throne the effigy of Henry in the plain of Avila, and having stripped it of the insignia of royalty, overthrew it and put Don Alonzo in its place. After an indecisive battle (Medina del Campo, 1465) the unfortunate King, abandoned by everyone, wandered aimlessly about his kingdom, past castles and cities which closed their gates against him, no one even caring to arrest him. One night, after a ride of eighteen leagues, he ventured to enter Toledo; the tocsin was sounded, he was forced to retire, and one of the knights who had escorted him refused even to lend him a horse.

Arragon and Navarre were not more tranquil. On the succession of Juan II. to his brother Alfonzo the Magnanimous in the Kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily, he retained for his own son, Don Carlos of Viana, the crown of Navarre which the young Prince inherited from his mother (1441). A stepmother excited the father against his son on behalf of his two children by a second marriage, Ferdinand the Catholic and Leonora, Countess of

[1] Mariana, liv. xxii., A.D. 1451.

[2] *Ibid*, *Teoria de la Cortes*, quoted by Hallam, vol. i. pp. 416, 424.

Foix. The eternal factions of Navarre, the Beaumonts and Grammonts, carried on their private feuds under the names of the two Princes. Twice the party which had right on its side was beaten in pitched battle; twice the indignation of Don Juan's subjects forced him to set free the son he had cast into prison. Don Carlos died of poison or grief (1461), and his sister, Donna Bianca, inherited his right. Her father gave her up to her younger sister, Leonora, who poisoned her in the castle of Orthez. Catalonia had already risen: horror of this double murder excited men's minds; as the Catalans could not have Don Carlos for a King, they invoked him as a Saint,[1] called successively to their aid the King of Castille, the Infant of Portugal, and John of Calabria, and did not submit till after ten years of fighting (1472).

While Juan II. was in danger of losing Catalonia, his son Ferdinand was winning Castille. The brother of Henry IV. being dead, the Grandees held that the right of succession devolved on his sister Isabella. To support her against the King they married her to Ferdinand, who after her was the next heir to the throne (1469). Henry IV. died soon after having partaken of a banquet given to him by his reconciled enemies (1474). But, in dying, he declared that Donna Juana was his legitimate child. Galicia and the whole country from Toledo to Murcia declared in her favour.[2] Her uncle, Alfonzo *the African*, King of Portugal, had affianced her and came with the knights who had conquered Arzilla and Tangiers, to support her cause. The Portuguese and Castillians encountered each other at Toro (1476). The former were defeated, and the arms of Almayda which they bore on their standard were hung up in the Cathedral of Toledo. This check was sufficient to discourage the Portuguese; all the Castillian nobles ranged themselves on the side of Ferdinand and Isabella; the crown of Castille was firmly settled on the head of the first, and the death of

[1] Curita, vol. iv. book xx. folio 97.
[2] Mariana, book xxiv.

Juan II., who bequeathed Arragon to the latter (1479), enabled them to turn the whole force of Christian Spain against the Moors of Granada.

(1481—1492.)—A report was circulated among the Moors that the fated termination of their dominion in Spain had arrived.[1] A Fakeer disturbed Granada with mournful predictions, which were sufficiently justified by the state of the kingdom. Already under Henry IV. they had lost Gibraltar. Cities, strongly placed, but without ditches or external fortifications, and protected only by a thin wall; a brilliant cavalry skilled in throwing the javelin, eager to charge and willing to fly; these were the resources of the people of Granada. Africa could not be depended upon for help. The time was past when the hordes of the Almohades and Almoravides could flood the Peninsula. The Sultan of Egypt thought it enough to send to Ferdinand the guardian of the Holy Sepulchre to plead for them: and the fear of the Ottomans soon diverted his thoughts from these distant affairs.

Although every year the Christians and Moors ravaged alternately each other's territories, burning the vines, olive and orange trees, a singular agreement existed between them; the peace was not considered to be broken even if one of the two parties had taken a town, provided it was taken without declaration of war, without banners or trumpets, and in less than three days.[2] The capture of Zahara in this way by the Moors was the pretext for war. The Spaniards invaded the Kingdom of Granada, encouraged by their Queen, whom alone the Castillians would obey. In this army were already engaged the future conquerors of Barbary and Naples, Pedro of Navarre and Gonsalvo of Cordova. In the course of eleven years the Christians possessed themselves of Alhama, the bulwark of Granada;[3] took Malaga, the emporium of commerce between Spain and Africa;

[1] Curita, vol. iv. book xx. p. 332.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 314; Mariana, book xxv.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 314.

captured Baca, which was supposed to contain 150,000 inhabitants; and finally, with 80,000 men, besieged Granada herself.

The capital was a prey to the most furious dissensions. Son took arms against father, and brother against brother. Boabdil and his uncle had shared the remains of this expiring sovereignty, and the latter sold his share to the Spaniards in exchange for a rich province. There remained Boabdil, who had acknowledged himself as the vassal of Ferdinand, and who followed rather than directed the stubborn fury of the people. The siege lasted nine months; a Moor attempted to assassinate Ferdinand and Isabella; a fire destroyed the whole camp; the Queen, whom nothing could dismay, ordered a town to be constructed in its place, and Sante-Fé, built in eighty days, showed the Mussulmans that the siege would never be raised.[1] At last the Moors opened their gates, on the pledge that they should retain judges of their own nation and the free exercise of their religion (1492).

In the same year Christopher Columbus *gave a new world to Spain.*[2]

The Kingdoms of Spain were now united, with the exception of Navarre, which was certain to become sooner or later the prey of the two great Monarchies, between which Nature herself appeared to destine her to be divided. But these kingdoms, united only by force, were not yet blended into a single body. The Castillians watched the Arragonese with jealous eyes, both of them regarded as enemies the Moors and Jews who lived among them. Every city had its franchises, every grandee his privileges. All these antipathies had to be overcome, all these heterogeneous forces harmonized before fresh conquests could be undertaken. In spite of the skill of Ferdinand, in spite of the enthusiasm inspired by Isabella, they did not succeed in doing this until after thirty years of continual effort. The means they employed were as

[1] *Petri Martyris Anglerii epistolæ*, 73, 91, &c. The author was an eye-witness of these events.

[2] Epitaph of Christopher Columbus.

ruthless as the temper of the people they ruled; but their reward was the Empire of the two worlds in the sixteenth century.

The Spanish Cortes, which alone could legally resist the aggressions of the Monarchy, were the most ancient Assemblies in Europe; but these institutions, formed amidst the anarchy of the Middle Ages, had not the organization which could make them lasting. In 1480 only seventeen towns in Castile were represented; in 1520 not one deputy was sent by the whole of Galicia to the Cortes.[1] Those of Guadalaxara alone represented 400 boroughs or towns. In Arragon it was nearly the same. The rivalry between the towns perpetuated this abuse; in 1506 and in 1512 the towns in Castile which possessed the privilege of representation rejected the claims of the rest.[2] Thus, in order to become master, Ferdinand had only to leave the field open for rival pretensions. He obtained through the Holy Hermandad of the cities, and the revolt of the vassals, the submission of the grandees;[3] through the grandees that of the cities; through the Inquisition the subjection of both. The violence of the grandees induced Saragossa to allow him to change her ancient municipal constitutions which she had always defended. The organization of the Holy Hermandad, or fraternity of the cities of Arragon, was impeded by the nobles whose private wars it would have put an end to (1488), and the King was obliged in the Cortes of 1495 to suspend its action for ten years; but the people of Saragossa were so irritated that for a long time the Justiza of Arragon, who refused to swear to the Hermandad, dared not enter the town.[4] From this time the Crown inherited a large share of the people's attachment to this magistracy, which had long been con-

[1] Sepulveda, vol. i., book ii., p. 59.
[2] Hallam, vol. i., from Mariana.
[3] In Galicia alone he pulled down forty-six castles. (Hernando de Pulgar.)
[4] Curita, vol. iv., book xx., pp. 251—356.

sidered as the bulwark of public liberty against the encroachment of Kings.

Nevertheless Ferdinand and Isabella would never have acquired absolute power if the poverty of the Crown had left them at the mercy of the Cortes. They revoked on two occasions the grants of Henry IV., and those by which they had themselves purchased the obedience of the grandees (1480—1506). The union of the three Great Masterships of Alcantara, Calatrava, and Sant Iago, which they had the address to induce the knights to present to them, gave them at the same time an army and a very large revenue (1493—1494). Later on, the kings of Spain having obtained from the Pope the sale of Bulls for the Crusades and the presentation to Bishoprics (1508—1522), became the richest sovereigns in Europe, even before they drew any considerable sum from America.

The Kings of Portugal established their power by similar means. They possessed themselves of the Masterships of the Orders of Avis, of Sant Iago, and of Christ, in order to make the nobles dependent on them. In one diet (at Evora, 1482) Juan II., successor of Alfonso the African, revoked the grants of his predecessors, deprived the nobles of the power of life and death, and placed their domains under royal jurisdiction. The indignant nobles chose as their chief the Duke of Braganza, who called in the aid of the Castilians; the King had him tried by a commission, and his head struck off. The Duke of Viseu, cousin-german and brother-in-law of Juan, conspired against him, and the King stabbed him with his own hand.

But what really secured the triumph of absolute power in Spain was the fact that it rested on the religious zeal which was the national characteristic of Spain. The Kings leagued themselves with the Inquisition, that vast and powerful hierarchy, all the more terrible because it united the steady force of political authority with the violence of religious passions. The establishment of the Inquisition encountered the greatest obstacles on the part

of the Arragonese. Less in contact with the Moors than the Castilians, they were less embittered against them: the greater number of the members of the Government of Arragon were descended from Jewish families. They protested strongly against secret trials, and against confiscations; things contrary, as they said, to the "*fueros*" of the kingdom. They even assassinated one Inquisitor in the hope of frightening the rest. But the new institution was too much in harmony with the religious ideas of the majority of Spaniards not to resist these attacks. The title of *Familiar of the Inquisition*, which carried with it exemption from municipal charges, was so much sought after, that, in some towns these privileged persons surpassed in number the other inhabitants, and the Cortes were obliged to interfere.[1]

After the conquest of Granada the Inquisition was no longer satisfied with the persecution of individuals. All the Jews were ordered to be converted or to leave Spain in four months, and forbidden to carry away gold or silver (1492). One hundred and seventy thousand families, forming a population of 800,000 souls, sold their property in a hurry, and fled to Portugal, Italy, Africa,

[1] The following inscription was put up, shortly after the foundation of the Inquisition in the Castle of Triana, in a faubourg of Seville:—"Sanctum Inquisitionis officium contra hæreticorum pravitatem in Hispaniæ regnis initiatum est Hispali, anno MCCCCLXXXI, &c. Generalis inquisitor primus fuit Fr. Thomas de Torquemada. Faxit Deus ut in augmentum fidei usque sœculi permaneat, &c. Exsurge, Domine: judica causam tuam. Capite nobis vulpes." Another inscription, put up in 1524 by the Inquisitors on their house in Seville, runs:—"Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXI sacrum Inquisitionis officium contra hæreticos Judaizantes ad fidei exaltationem hic exordium sumpsit: ubi, post Judæorum ac Saracenorum expulsionem ad annum usque MDXXIV, Divo Carolo, etc. regnante, etc., viginti millia hæreticorum et ultra nefandum hæreseos crimen abjurarunt; nec non hominum fere millia in suis hæresibus obstinatorum postea jure prævio ignibus tradita sunt et combusta. Domini nostri imperatoris jussu et impensis licenciatus, de la Cueva poni jussit, A. D. MDXXIV." It is worthy of remark that several Popes, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, blamed the severity of the Spanish Inquisition. The Court of Rome was at that time interested and mercenary, rather than fanatical.

and even to the Levant. *At that time a house was given in exchange for an ass, a vineyard for a piece of linen or cloth.* A contemporary tells us that he saw a crowd of these miserable beings disembark in Italy, and die of hunger near the Mole of Genoa, the only quarter of the town in which they were allowed to repose for a few days.

The Jews who took refuge in Portugal were received there only on payment of eight golden crowns per head; besides which, they were ordered to leave the kingdom within a certain time on pain of being made slaves, an edict which was rigorously enforced. In spite of this, it is said that the first who arrived wrote to their brothers in Spain, "The land is good, the people are idiots; we have fair chances here; you may come, for everything will soon belong to us." Don Manuel, Don Juan's successor, set free those who had been enslaved; but, in 1496, he ordered them to quit the kingdom, leaving behind them all their children under the age of fourteen. The greater number preferred to receive baptism, and in 1507 Don Manuel abolished the distinction between the *old and new Christians.* The Inquisition was established at Lisbon in 1526, and from thence it spread to India, where the Portuguese had landed in 1498.

Seven years after the expulsion of the Jews (1499—1501) the King of Spain attempted in an equally violent manner to convert the Moors of Granada, who by the terms of capitulation had been guaranteed the free exercise of their religion. Those of the Albaycin (the most mountainous district of Granada) were the first to revolt, and were followed by the savage inhabitants of the Alpuxarras. The Gandules of Africa came to their assistance, and the King, having experienced the difficulty of reducing them, furnished vessels to those who wished to cross over into Africa; but the greater number remained, and pretended to become Christians.[1]

The reduction of the Moors was followed by the conquest of Naples (1501—1503) and by the death of Isabella

[1] Mariana, book xxvii.

(1504). This queen was adored by the people of Castile,[1] whose character she so well represented, and whose independence she protected against her husband. After her death the Castilians had only the choice between foreign rulers. They were obliged to obey either the King of Arragon, or the Archduke of Austria,—Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Netherlands, who had married Donna Juana, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, heiress of the kingdom of Castile. Such was their antipathy for the Arragonese, and particularly for Ferdinand, that, in spite of all the intrigues of the latter to obtain the Regency, they rallied round the Archduke as soon as he arrived in Spain. At first the behaviour of Philip was popular: he put a stop to the violence of the Inquisition, which was on the point of exciting a general insurrection; but he dismissed all the corregidors and governors of the towns to give their places to his Flemish followers, and at last he wanted to shut up as a maniac Donna Juana, whose feeble reason had gone astray through jealousy. Philip soon died (1506). Nevertheless, Ferdinand would not even yet have been able to govern Castile if he had not been supported by the confessor and minister of Isabella, the celebrated Ximenès of Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo.

The Castilians, finding in Ximenès the heroic spirit of their great queen, forgot that they were obeying Ferdinand; and the latter years of this Prince were marked by the conquests of Barbary and Navarre. The war with the Moors did not seem at an end so long as those in

[1] Isabella exhibited the utmost courage in the vicissitudes of her youth. When Ferdinand fled from Segovia she chose to remain (Mariana, book xxiv.); she insisted on holding Alhama, at the gates of Granada, when her bravest officers counselled retreat (Curita, book xx.). She consented with regret to the establishment of the Inquisition. She loved and protected letters; she understood Latin, while Ferdinand could scarcely sign his own name (Mariana, book xxiii. xxv.). She equipped, in spite of his opposition, the fleet which discovered America; she defended Columbus when accused, consoled Gonsalvo of Cordova in his disgrace, and ordered the unfortunate natives of America to be set free.

Africa, strengthened by a number of fugitives, infested the coasts of Spain, and found a safe refuge in the port of Oran, at Penon de Velez, and many other fastnesses. Ximenès proposed, equipped, and personally conducted an expedition against Oran. The taking of this town, which was carried under his eyes by Pedro of Navarre, led to the fall of Tripoli and the submission of Algiers, Tunis, and Tremecen (1509, 1510).

Two years afterwards, the seizure of Navarre, which was taken by Ferdinand from Jean d'Albret, completed the union of all the kingdoms of Spain (1512). The Countess of Foix, Leonora, had enjoyed only for a month this throne, which she had bought with her sister's blood. After the death of her son Phœbus, the hand of her daughter Catherine, which had been demanded in vain for the Infant of Spain, was given by the French party to Jean d'Albret, who was invariably allied to France through his own dominions of Foix, Périgord, and Limoges. As soon as the two great powers which were struggling in Italy began, as it were, to fight hand-to-hand, Navarre found herself, by the necessities of her geographical position, shared between Ferdinand and Louis XII. Ximenès was eighty years old when the King, whose death was approaching, designated him as Regent until the arrival of his grandson, Charles of Austria (1516). In spite of his age he withstood foreign and domestic enemies with the same vigour. He prevented the French from conquering Navarre by an expedient which was as new as it was bold: it was by dismantling all the strong places except Pampeluna, and thus preventing all connivance with the invaders. At the same time he formed a national militia, and secured the towns by granting them permission to raise their own taxes (Gomecius, f. 25). He revoked the concessions which the late king had made to the grandees. When they came to expostulate, and expressed doubts as to the power which had been conferred on him, Ximenès, showing them from a balcony a formidable train of artillery, "Behold," he said, "my power!"

The Flemish disgusted the Spaniards as soon as they arrived. First, they disgraced the expiring Ximenès, and appointed a stranger, a young man of twenty, to replace him in the highest see in the kingdom. They established a tariff of places, and, as it were, put Spain up to auction. Charles took the title of King without waiting for the consent of the Cortès. He convoked those of Castile in a remote corner of Galicia, and asking for a second subsidy before the first had been paid, seized it by force or corruption, and set out to take possession of the Imperial crown without caring whether he left a revolution behind him. Toledo refused to attend his Cortès, Segovia and Zamora put their deputies to death, and such was the horror that the deputies inspired that no one was willing to pillage their houses or to soil their hands with the wealth of the traitors. Discontent spread throughout Spain. The whole of Castile, Galicia, Murcia, and most of the towns in Leon and Estramadura, rose in arms. The revolt was no less furious in Valencia, but its character was different: the inhabitants had sworn a "hermandad" against the nobility, and Charles, discontented with the nobles, was imprudent enough to support it. Majorca imitated the example of Valencia, and even wished to deliver herself to the French. In both kingdoms the Clothworkers were at the head of the "hermandad."

At the outset the *communeros* of Castile took possession of Tordesillas, where the mother of Charles V. resided, and issued their edicts in the name of the Princess. But their success lasted only a short time. They had demanded in their remonstrances, that the lands of the nobles might be subjected to taxation. The nobles abandoned a party whose victory would have been prejudicial to their interests. The towns did not even agree among themselves. The old rivalry between Burgos and Toledo awoke; and the former submitted to the King, who granted her a free market.[1] The *communeros*, thus divided, had no longer any hope except in the assistance of a French

[1] Sepulveda, vol. i., p. 53.

army, which had invaded Navarre; but before they could effect a junction with it they fell in with the *leales*, and were entirely routed (1521). Don Juan de Padilla, the hero of the revolution, sought death in the enemy's ranks, but he was unhorsed, wounded, taken prisoner, and beheaded on the next day. Before his death he sent to his wife, Donna Maria de Pacheco, the relics he wore round his neck, and wrote his famous letter to the town of Toledo: "To thee, the crown of Spain and the light of the world; to thee, who wert free from the time of the Goths, and who hast shed thy blood to ensure thy liberty and that of the neighbouring cities; to thee, thy lawful son, Juan of Padilla, makes known that by the blood of his body thy ancient victories are about to be refreshed and renewed," &c.[1]

The reduction of Castile brought with it that of the kingdom of Valencia and of all the revolted provinces. But Charles V., profiting by this lesson, respected henceforth the pride of the Spaniards, affected to speak their language, and resided chiefly amongst them, treating with consideration this heroic people as the instrument with which he intended to subjugate the world.

[1] Sandoval, in fol. 1681, book ix., § 22, p. 356.

CHAPTER III.

THE EAST AND THE NORTH.

GERMANIC AND SCANDINAVIAN STATES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

If we regard similarity of habits and language, we must class among the Germanic states the Empire, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and the three kingdoms of the North, even England in many respects; but the political relations of the Netherlands and England with France have forced us to relate the history of these powers in the preceding chapter.

Germany is not only the centre of the Teutonic system; it is a little Europe in the midst of the greater, in which the same varieties of country and population are represented, though with less striking contrast. In the fifteenth century it included every form of government, from the hereditary or elective principalities of Saxony and Cologne to the democracies of Uri and Unterwalden; from the commercial oligarchy of Lubeck to the military aristocracy of the Teutonic Order.

This singular body of the Empire, whose members were so heterogeneous and unequal, and whose head had so little power, seemed always on the point of dissolution. The cities, the nobles, the majority even of the princes, were almost strangers to an Emperor who was chosen only by the Electors. And yet community of origin and language maintained for centuries the unity of the Germanic body: though we must add to these causes

the necessity for self-defence, the fear of the Turks, of Charles V., and of Louis XIV.

The Empire always remembered that it had ruled over Europe, and recalled its rights from time to time in vain proclamations. The most powerful prince in the 15th century, Charles the Bold, seemed to recognise them by soliciting the royal dignity from the Emperor Frederick III. These pretensions, though their day had gone by, might have become formidable after the Imperial Crown fell permanently into the hands of the House of Austria (1438). Situated between Germany, Italy and Hungary, in the most central part of Europe, Austria was destined to become mistress of the two latter countries, at least by her consistency and obstinacy. To these qualities she added a policy, more distinguished by ability than heroism, which, by means of a succession of marriages, placed in the hands of Austria prizes for which other nations had in vain shed their blood, and which made her mistress of the conquerors as well as of their conquests. She thus acquired on one side Hungary and Bohemia (1526), on the other the Low Countries (1481); by means of the Low Countries, Spain, Naples and America (1506-1516), and through Spain, Portugal and the East Indies (1581).

Towards the end of the 15th century the Imperial power had fallen so low that the Princes of the House of Austria generally forgot that they were Emperers in order to occupy themselves exclusively with the interests of their hereditary states. Nothing diverted them from this policy, which, sooner or later, was destined to restore the dignity of the imperial sceptre in their hands. Thus Frederick III., continually beaten by the Electors Palatine and the King of Hungary, shut his ears to the cries of Europe, which was alarmed by the progress of the Turks. But he raised Austria into an Arch-Duchy; he linked the interests of his house with those of the Papacy by sacrificing the Pragmatic Sanction of Augsburg to Nicholas V.; he married his son Maximilian to the heiress of the Low Countries (1481). Maximilian him-

self became by his caprices and poverty the laughing stock of Europe, as it saw him hurrying perpetually from Switzerland to the Low Countries, from Italy to Germany, imprisoned by the citizens of Bruges, beaten by the Venetians, and setting down regularly his affronts in his *red book*. But he added to his dominions by right of inheritance the Tyrol, Goritz, and part of Bavaria. His son Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Low Countries, married the heiress of Spain (1496); and one of his grandsons (by the treaty of 1515) was enabled to marry the sister of the king of Bohemia and Hungary.

While the house of Austria was thus preparing her future greatness, the Empire tried to give fresh form to its constitution. Its tribunal, which was in future to be permanent,—the *Imperial Chamber* (1495)—was to put an end to private wars and substitute a state of law for the state of nature which seemed still to exist among the members of the Germanic body. The division into Circles was intended to facilitate the exercise of this jurisdiction. A council of Regency was created to control and replace the Emperor (1500). The electors long refused to enter into this new organisation. The Emperor opposed the Aulic Council to the Imperial Chambers (1501), and these salutary institutions were consequently weakened from their birth.

This absence of order, this want of protection, had successively obliged the most distant portions of the Empire to form more or less independent confederations or to look for foreign support. Such was the condition of the Swiss, of the Teutonic Order, of the leagues of the Rhine and of Swabia, and of the Hanseatic League.

The same period saw the elevation of Switzerland and the decline of the Teutonic Order. The second of these two military powers, a species of vanguard which the warlike spirit of Germany had pushed on into the midst of the Sclavonic peoples, was forced to give up Prussia, which the Teutonic Knights had conquered and converted two centuries earlier, to the King of Poland —(Treaty of Thorn, 1466).

Switzerland, separated from the Empire by the victory of Morgarten and the league of Brunnen, had consolidated her liberty by the defeat of Charles the Bold, which taught feudal Europe to appreciate the power of infantry. The alliance of the Grisons, the accession of five new cantons (Fribourg, Soleure, Basle, Schaffhausen and Appenzell, 1481—1513), had carried Switzerland to the summit of greatness. The citizens of Berne, the shepherds of Uri, found themselves caressed by Popes and courted by Kings. Louis XI. substituted Swiss for the free-archers (1480). In the wars with Italy the best part of the infantry of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII. was composed of them. As soon as they had crossed the Alps, in the train of the French, they were welcomed by the Pope who opposed them to the French themselves, and for a short time they reigned over Northern Italy in the name of Maximilian Sforza. After their defeat at Marignan (1515) religious discords armed them against each other, and confined them within their mountains.

The two commercial powers of Germany were not a sufficiently compact body to imitate the example of Switzerland, and become independent.

The league of the Rhenish and Swabian towns was composed of rich cities, among which Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Augsburg, and Spires held the first rank. They it was who carried on the principal commerce by land between the North and the South. When it reached Cologne, the merchandise they imported fell into the hands of the Hanseatic towns, by whom it was distributed throughout the North.

The Hanseatic League, consisting of eighty towns, occupied the whole northern coast of Germany, and extended to the Low Countries. Until the 16th century it was the ruling power in the North. The immense hall at Lubeck where the Hanseatic general assemblies were held, still attests the power of these merchant princes. They had united by means of innumerable canals the ocean, the Baltic, and most of the rivers of Northern Germany. But their chief commerce was maritime. The

Hanseatic establishments at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod were analogous in many respects to the factories of the Venetians and Genoese in the Levant; they were a sort of fortresses. The clerks were not allowed to marry in foreign countries for fear of their teaching commerce and the arts to the inhabitants.[1] In some counting-houses they were received only after cruel trials which tested their courage. Commerce was still almost everywhere carried on sword in hand. If the Hanse traders brought into Novogorod or London Flanders cloth which was too coarse, too narrow, or too dear, the people rose, and often put some of them to death. Then the merchants threatened to leave the town, and the inhabitants in their alarm were willing to submit to anything. The citizens of Bruges having killed some Hanse traders, the League, before re-establishing its counting-houses in the town, insisted that some of the citizens should make an ample apology, and that others should undertake a pilgrimage to Compostella or Jerusalem. In truth the most terrible punishment which the Hanseatic traders could inflict upon a town was—to abandon it for ever. A cessation of their visits to Holland left its inhabitants without cloth, moss, salt, and herrings; and in all revolutions the Swedish peasant was on the side of those who furnished him with salt and herrings. For this reason the League exacted extraordinary privileges; the greater number of the maritime towns in Sweden allowed at least half of their magistrates to be Hanseatic traders.

Great as their power was, however, it rested on no solid foundation. The long line of the Hanseatic towns, from Livonia to the Low Countries, was everywhere narrow and broken by foreign or hostile states. The towns composing it had different interests and unequal rights: some were *allies* of the League, some *protected* by it, others its *subjects*. Even the commerce on which their existence depended was precarious. As they had neither agriculture nor manufactures, and could only

[1] See Sartorius and Mallet's History of the Hanseatic League.

transport and exchange foreign merchandise they depended upon a thousand natural or political accidents which no sagacity could foresee. Thus the herring, which towards the 14th century had quitted the coasts of Pomerania for those of Scandinavia, began in the middle of the 15th to leave the shores of the Baltic for those of the Northern ocean. In the same way the submission of Novogorod and Plescow to the Czar Ivan III. (1477), and the reduction of Bruges by the army of the Empire (towards 1489), closed to the Hanse Towns the two chief sources of their wealth. At the same time the progress of public order rendered the protection of the Hanseatics unnecessary to many of the continental towns, especially after the constitution of the empire consolidated itself, towards 1495. The Rhenish cities had never chosen to join the League; Cologne which had entered into it, left it and demanded the protection of Flanders. The Dutch, whose commerce and industry had grown up under the protection of the Hanse, no longer required it when they became the subjects of the powerful houses of Burgundy and Austria, and began to dispute with it the monopoly of the Baltic trade. At once agriculturists, merchants, and manufacturers, they had the advantage over a purely commercial power. To defend the interests of their traffic against these dangerous rivals, the Hanseatic merchants were obliged to intervene in all the revolutions of the North.

Its priority in Christianity and civilization, which had passed from Germany to Denmark and thence to Sweden and Norway, long gave Denmark the preponderance over the other two states. The Swedish and Norwegian bishops were the most powerful nobles in these countries; and they were equally devoted to Denmark. But the Danish kings could only maintain this preponderance by continued efforts which made them dependent upon their nobles and obliged them to make frequent concessions. These concessions could be made only at the expense of the royal prerogative and of the freedom of the peasantry, who gradually fell into slavery. In Sweden, on the con-

trary, the peasants lost little of the ancient liberty of the Scandinavian nations, and even formed an order in the State. This difference in the constitution explains the vigour with which Sweden shook off the yoke of the Danes. The Norwegians, either because the clergy had more influence there than in Sweden, or that they feared becoming subjects to Sweden, exhibited generally less repugnance towards the Danish supremacy.

The famous union of Calmar, which appeared to promise so much glory and power to the three northern kingdoms, had only established the yoke of the Danish princes, and of the Germans with whom they surrounded themselves, over Sweden and Norway. Both the revolution of 1433, and that of 1521, began with the peasants of Dalecarlia; Engelbrecht played the part of Gustavus Vasa; and the latter as well as the former was sustained by the Hanse towns, whose trade monopoly was opposed by the King of Denmark (Eric the Pomeranian, nephew of Margaret of Waldemar) in favour of the Dutch. The union was restored some time afterwards by Christopher, the Bavarian, the *Bark King*, as the Swedes, who were forced under his reign to live upon the bark of trees, called him. But after his death (1448) they turned out the Danes and the Germans, elected as their King, Charles Canutson, marshal of the kingdom, and refused to recognise the new King of Denmark and Norway, Christian the First of the House of Oldenburgh (the ancestor, through the branch of Holstein-Gottorp, of the last Swedish dynasty and the reigning imperial House of Russia). The Danes, strengthened by the acquisition of Schleswig and Holstein (1459), thrice restored their dominion over Sweden, by the help of the Archbishop of Upsala (1457—1465) and were twice driven from it by the party of the nobility and the people.

On the death of Charles Canutson in 1470 Sweden adopted successively as administrators three nobles of the name of Sture (Sten, Swante and Sten) They rested their power on the peasants, and called them into the

senate. They beat the Danes before Stockholm (1471) and took from them the famous standard of Danebrog, which was, as it were, the palladium of the monarchy. They founded the University of Upsala at the same time that the King of Denmark founded that of Copenhagen (1477—1478). In fact, if we except only a short period, during which Sweden was obliged to recognise John II., successor of Christian I., they maintained her independence until 1520.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EAST AND THE NORTH.

TURKISH AND SCLAVONIC STATES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE conquest of the Greek Empire by the Ottoman-Turks may be considered as the last invasion of the Barbarians, and the close of the middle ages. It was the destiny of the nations of Sclavonic origin, who lay in the road of the Asiatic Barbarians, to close Europe against them, or, at least, to check their advance by powerful diversions. Russia, on which the rage of the Tartars had spent itself in the 14th century, again became formidable under Ivan III. (1462). A league of Hungarians, Wallachians, and Moldavians covered Germany and Poland, which formed as it were the reserve of the Christian army against the invasion of the Turks. Poland, stronger than ever, had no longer any enemies in her rear; she had just conquered Prussia, and penetrated as far as the Baltic (1454—1466).

I. The rapid progress of Ottoman conquest during the 15th century is explained by the following causes:—

(1). The fanatical and military spirit of the Turks.

(2). Their use of regular troops, as opposed to the feudal militias of the Europeans and to the cavalry of the Persians and Mamelukes; their institution of the Janissaries.

(3). The peculiar position of the enemies of Turkey;

in the East the religious and political discords of Persia, and the feeble foundations of the power of the Mamelukes; in the West the dissensions of Christendom; Hungary was its bulwark on the land side, Venice by sea; but they were enfeebled, the one by the ambition of the House of Austria, the other by the jealousy of Italy and of all Europe. The resistance of the Knights of Rhodes, and of the Princes of Albania was heroic but powerless.

We saw in our first chapter Mahomet II., after succeeding in the conquest of the Greek Empire, fail against Hungary, but become master of the sea and inspire all Christendom with terror. On the accession of Bajazet II. (1481), the parts changed, and fear crossed over to the side of the Sultan. His brother Zizim who had disputed the throne with him, having taken refuge with the Knights of Rhodes, became in the hands of the King of France, and afterwards of the Pope, a pledge for the safety of the West. Bajazet paid Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. considerable sums to keep him prisoner. This unpopular prince, who had begun his reign by putting to death the Vizier Achmet, the idol of the Janissaries, and the old general of Mahomet II., was carried away in spite of himself by the military ardour of the nation. The Turks turned their arms first against the Mamelukes and Persians. Defeated by the former, at Issus, they prepared the ruin of their conquerors by depopulating Circassia, whence the Mamelukes recruited their numbers. After the death of Zizim, no longer fearing any internal war, they attacked the Venetians in the Peloponnesus, and threatened Italy (1499—1503); but Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland came to the rescue, and the accession of the Sophis renewed and gave formal shape to the political rivalry between the Persians and Turks (1501). After this war Bajazet estranged the Turks by a peace of eight years, desired to abdicate in favour of his son Achmet, and was dethroned and put to death by his second son Selim. The accession of this new sovereign, the most cruel and warlike of all the Sultans, struck terror into both the East and

West (1512); it was doubtful whether he would fall first upon Persia, Egypt, or Italy.

II. Europe would have had nothing to fear from the Barbarians, if Hungary had been permanently united to Bohemia, and had held them in check. But Hungary interfered both with the independence and the religion of Bohemia. In this way they weakened each other, and in the 15th century wavered between the two Sclavonic and German powers on their borders (Poland and Austria). United under a German prince from 1455 to 1458, separated for a time under national sovereigns (Bohemia until 1471, Hungary until 1490), they were once more united under Polish princes until 1526, at which period they passed definitively into the hands of Austria.

After the reign of Ladislas of Austria, who won so much glory by the exploits of John Hunniades, George Podiebrad obtained the crown of Bohemia, and Matthias Corvinus, the son of Hunniades, was elected King of Hungary (1458). These two princes opposed successfully the chimerical pretensions of the Emperor Frederick III. Podiebrad protected the Hussites and incurred the enmity of the Popes. Matthias victoriously encountered the Turks and obtained the favour of Paul II., who offered him the crown of Podiebrad, his father-in-law. The latter opposed to the hostility of Matthias the alliance of the King of Poland, whose eldest son, Ladislas, he designated as his successor. At the same time, Casimir, the brother of Ladislas, endeavoured to take from Matthias the crown of Hungary. Matthias, thus pressed on all sides, was obliged to renounce the conquest of Bohemia, and content himself with the provinces of Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia, which were to return to Ladislas if Matthias died first (1475—1478).

The King of Hungary compensated himself at the expense of Austria. On the pretext that Frederick III. had refused to give him his daughter, he twice invaded his states and retained them in his possession. With this great prince Christendom lost its chief defender,

Hungary her conquests and her political preponderance (1490). The civilization which he had tried to introduce into his kingdom was deferred for many centuries. We have already related what he did for letters and the arts. By his *Decretum majus*, he regulated military discipline, abolished judicial combat, forbade his subjects to appear in arms at fair or market, decreed that punishment should no longer be extended to the relations of culprits, nor their possessions in future be confiscated, that the the King would no longer seize all mines of gold,[1] salt, &c. without compensating the proprietor. Ladislas (of Poland), King of Bohemia, having been elected King of Hungary, was attacked by his brother John Albert, and by Maximilian of Austria, who both pretended to that crown. He appeased his brother by the cession of Silesia (1491), and Maximilian by vesting in the House of Austria the right of succession to the throne of Hungary, in case he himself should die without male issue. Under Ladislas, and under his son Louis II., who succeeded him while still a child, in 1516, Hungary was ravaged with impunity by the Turks.

III. Poland, united since 1386 to Lithuania by Ladislas Jagellon, the first prince of this dynasty, became in the 15th century the preponderating power among the Sclavonic States. Protected on the side of the Turks by Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, the rival of Russia in Lithuania, of Austria in Hungary and Bohemia, she disputed the possession of Prussia and Livonia with the Teutonic Order. The secret of her weakness was the jealousy of the two nations, speaking different languages, which composed the main body in the State. The Jagellons, who were Lithuanian princes, wished their country not to depend upon Polish laws, and to recover Podolia. The Poles reproached Casimir IV. with *passing the Autumn, Winter, and Spring in Lithuania.*[2]

[1] Bonfinius, *Rerum Hungaricarum decades*, 1568, in fol., p. 649.

[2] Dlugossi, sive Longini, *Historiæ Polonicæ*, vol. ii. 1712, p. 114—160.

Under Casimir, the second son of Ladislas Jagellon (fifth of the name), the Poles protected the Sclavonians of Prussia against the tyranny of the Teutonic Knights and forced the latter to submit to the Treaty of Thorn (1466), by means of which they lost Western Prussia, and became vassals of Poland for Eastern Prussia. Who would then have thought that Prussia would one day dismember Poland? At the same time the Poles gave a king to Bohemia and to Hungary (1471—1490). The three brothers of Ladislas, John Albert, Alexander, and Sigismund I., were successively elected Kings of Poland (1492, 1501, 1506), made war upon the Wallachians and Turks, and gained brilliant victories over the Russians. Lithuania, separated from Poland on the accession of John Albert, was definitively united to her by Alexander.

Towards 1466, the continual wars necessarily introduced a representative government into Poland; but the pride of the nobles, who alone were represented by their *Nuncios*, maintained the anarchical forms of barbarous ages; and they continued to exact a unanimous consent in their deliberations for the enactment of a law. Even on important occasions the Poles remained faithful to established usage, and, as in the middle ages, the numerous *pospolite* were seen deliberating in the field sword in hand.

IV. In the 15th century the Russian population was divided into three classes: the Boyards, descendants of the conquerors; the free peasants who farmed for the former and whose state was approaching more and more to slavery; and lastly the serfs.

The Grand Duchy of Moscow was continually threatened by enemies: on the west it had the Lithuanians and Livonians, on the east the Tartars of the Golden Horde from Kasan and Astrakan; it was hemmed in by the commercial republics of Novogorod and Plescow, and by the principalities of Tver, Vereia, and Rezan. To the north of it were savage and heathen countries. The Muscovite nation, still barbarous, but attached at least to a fixed abode, was destined to absorb in time the

nomadic tribes of the Tartars. As an hereditary state, the Grand Duchy could not fail to prevail, sooner or later, over the elective states of Poland and Livonia.

1462—1505, Ivan III. He opposed to the attacks of the Golden Horde an alliance with the Crimean Tartars, to those of Lithuania a league with the Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, and again with Matthias Corvinus and Maximilian.—He separated Plescow and Novogorod, which could only resist him by making common cause with each other, gradually weakened the latter republic, took possession of it in 1477, and drained it of its strength by carrying off its chief citizens. Strengthened by his alliance with the Khan of the Crimea, he imposed a tribute on the inhabitants of Kasan, and refused that which his predecessors paid to the Golden Horde which soon afterwards was destroyed by the Tartars (1480). Ivan united to his dominions Tver, Vereia, Rostow and Yaroslaw. He made war for a long time on the Lithuanians; but Alexander having united Lithuania to Poland, allied himself with the Knights of Livonia; and the Czar, who after the destruction of the Golden Horde, had treated his allies in Moldavia and the Crimea with less consideration, lost his ascendency. He was beaten at Plescow by Plettemberg, the Master of the Knights of Livonia (1501), and in the very year of his death (1505) Kasan revolted against Russia.

Ivan was the first to take the title of Czar. Having obtained from the Pope the hand of Sophia Palæologus who had taken refuge in Rome, he inserted in his arms the double eagle of the Greek Empire. He invited and retained by force Greek and Italian artists. He was the first to assign fiefs to the Boyards on condition of military service; he introduced order into the finances, established posts, formed into a code (1497) the ancient judicial customs, and desired, though ineffectually, to distribute the lands of the Church among the Boyards. In 1492 Ivan founded Ivangorod (on the spot where St. Petersburg was afterwards built) but the victories of Plettemberg shut against Russia for two centuries all access to the Baltic. (See *Karamsin*, passim.)

CHAPTER V.

EARLY ITALIAN WARS.

1494—1516.

WHEN in the present day we cross the Siennese Maremma and find there and in other parts of Italy traces of wars of the 16th century, we are seized by an inexpressible sadness, and we curse the barbarians who caused all this desolation.[1] This desert of the Maremma was made by a general of Charles V.; those ruins of burnt palaces are the work of Francis I.'s Landsknechts. The damaged pictures of Giulio Romano attest to this day that the soldiers of the Constable of Bourbon stabled their horses in the Vatican. Let us not, however, blame our fathers too hastily. The wars in Italy were the effect neither of a king's nor a nation's caprice. During more than half a century an irresistible impulse carried all the western, as it had formerly carried all the northern nations, over the Alps. The calamities were almost as great, but the result was the same; the conquerors were raised to the civilization of the conquered.

Louis the Moor, alarmed by the threats of the King of Naples, whose grand-daughter had married his

1 Commentaries of Blaise de Montluc, vol. xxi. of the collection, p. 267-8. See also several books of travel and especially a *Voyage au Montamiata et dans le Siennois* by Santi, translated into French by Bodard. Lyons, 1802, 2 vols. in 8vo. vol. 1, passim.

nephew, John Galeas (see Chap. I.) determined to support his usurped authority by the assistance of the French, but he little knew what a power he was bringing into Italy. He was seized with astonishment and terror when he saw trooping down Mount Ginevra, in September, 1494, their formidable army, which, from the variety of costume, arms and language, seemed to comprise within its ranks every nation in Europe—French, Basques, Bretons, Swiss, Germans, and even Scotch; the invincible gendarmes, as well as those formidable bronze cannons which the French had learnt to move as easily as their soldiers. It introduced a new mode of warfare into Italy. The old tactics, which sent one squadron after another into battle were superseded at once by the French impetuosity and by the cool bravery of the Swiss. War was no longer a system of tactics. It was to be terrible, inexorable. The conqueror did not even understand the prayers of the conquered. The soldiers of Charles VIII., full of fear and hatred against a country where they expected to be poisoned at every meal, invariably massacred all their prisoners.[1]

At the approach of the French the old governments of Italy crumbled away of themselves. Pisa shook off the yoke of the Florentines; Florence that of the Medicis; Savonarola received Charles VIII. as "the Scourge of God" sent to punish the sins of Italy. Alexander VI., who till that moment had been negotiating at the same time with the French, the Aragonese and the Turks. heard with terror the words "council" and "deposition," and hid himself in the castle of St. Angelo. He gave up in terror the brother of Bajazet II., whom Charles VIII. wanted to use for conquering the Empire of the East, but before yielding him up, he poisoned him. The new King of Naples, Alphonso II., had in the meantime taken refuge in a convent in Sicily, leaving his kingdom to be defended by a king of eighteen years old. This

[1] At Montefortino, at Mont St. Jean, at Rappallo, Sarzano, Toscanella, Fornovo and Gaeta.

young sovereign, Ferdinand II., was abandoned at San Germano, and saw his palace pillaged by the populace of Naples, who always rise against those who are beaten. The French soldiers, no longer fatiguing themselves by wearing armour, continued their pacific conquests in morning-dress, the only trouble they took was to send their quartermasters on before to mark out their lodgings.[1] The Turks soon beheld the standard of the Fleur-de-lis floating at Otranto, and the Greeks purchased arms.[2]

The partizans of the House of Anjou, after having been despoiled and banished for sixty years, had expected to share in the profit of the conquest under Charles VIII. But this prince, caring little for the services which they had rendered to the Kings of the House of Provence, exacted no restitution from the opposite party. He disgusted all the nobility by announcing his intention of restricting the feudal jurisdiction in the same manner as in France.[3] He appointed French governors to all the towns and fortresses, and thus induced several towns to resume the standard of Aragon. At the end of three months the Neapolitans were tired of the French and the French of Naples; they forgot their designs upon the East, and were impatient to return and relate their brilliant adventures to their ladies.

But an almost universal league had formed itself against Charles VIII. He was obliged to leave Italy in haste to escape being imprisoned in the kingdom which he had come to conquer. While recrossing the Apennines he encountered at Fornovo the army of the confederates which was 40,000 strong, while the French numbered only 9,000. After in vain demanding a passage they forced one, and the enemy's army which tried to stop them was put to flight by a few charges of cavalry. The King then returned triumphantly to France, having justified all his imprudence by a single victory.

The Italians, believing themselves delivered, took Savonarola to task for his unlucky predictions. His party,

[1] Comines, book vii. chap. xiv.
[2] Ibid, chap. xvii.
[3] Giannine, book xxx. chap. i.

that of the *Piagnoni* (penitents) which had freed and reformed Florence, found itself discredited. The friends of the Medicis whom they had violently attacked, Pope Alexander VI., whose excesses Savonarola had exposed with extreme boldness, seized the opportunity for destroying a faction which had wearied out the capricious enthusiasm of the Florentines. A Franciscan monk, wishing, as he said, to prove that Savonarola was an impostor, and that he had neither the gift of prophecy nor that of miracles, offered to pass with him through a burning fire. On the day fixed, when the scaffold was raised for this purpose and the spectators waiting, both parties made difficulties, and a heavy storm which ensued exasperated the people.

Savonarola was arrested, judged by the delegates of the Pope, and burnt alive. When the sentence was read to him dismissing him from the Church, "*from the Church militant*," he replied, hoping in future to belong to the Church triumphant (1498).

Italy perceived only too soon the truth of his prophecies.

On the very day of the trial by fire Charles VIII. expired at Amboise and left his throne to the Duke of Orleans, Louis XII., who joined to the claims of his predecessor on Naples those of his grandmother Valentina Visconti on Milan. As soon as his marriage with the widow of Charles VIII. had secured for him the possession of Brittany, Louis invaded the Milanese in concert with the Venetians. Both the hostile armies were partly composed of Swiss; those who belonged to the troops of Milan would not fight against the flag of their canton which they saw in the army of the King of France, and adandoned Duke Ludovico. But on their way back to their mountains they took possession of Bellinzona, which Louis XII. was obliged to give up to them, and it became in their hands the key of Lombardy. Having subdued the Milanese, Louis XII., who could not hope to conquer the kingdom of Naples against the will of the Spaniards, shared it with them by means of a

secret treaty. The unhappy Don Frederick, who reigned at that time, called Spain to his assistance, and when he had opened his principal fortresses to Gonsalvo of Cordova, the treaty of partition was disclosed to him (1501). This odious conquest was productive only of war. The two nations quarrelled for the proceeds of the tax raised on the flocks and herds that travelled in the spring from Apulia to the Abruzzi; which was the most certain portion of the Neapolitan revenue. Ferdinand amused Louis XII. by a treaty until he had sent sufficient reinforcements to Gonsalvo who was blockaded in Barletta. The skill of the *Great Captain* and the discipline of the Spanish infantry everywhere got the better of the brilliant courage of the French gendarmes. The valour of Louis d'Ars and of D'Aubigny, the exploits of Bayard, who was said to have defended a bridge single-handed against an army, could not prevent the French from being beaten at Seminara and Cerignola and from being turned a second time out of the kingdom of Naples by their defeat at the Garigliano (December, 1503).

Louis XII., however, was still master of a large portion of Italy; sovereign of the Milanese and Lord of Genoa, the ally and mainstay of Florence and of Pope Alexander VI.,[1] his influence spread over Tuscany, the Romagna and the Roman States. The death of Alexander VI. and the ruin of his son were as fatal to him as the defeat of the Garigliano. The Italian power of the Borgias which came between the possessions of France and of Spain was a sort of vanguard for the Milanese.

Cæsar Borgia deserved to be the ideal of Machiavelli, not because he was more perfidious than the other princes of his time,—Ferdinand the Catholic might have disputed the palm of faithlessness,—not for having been the assassin of his father and the lover of his sister,—

[1] *Cæsar Borgia of France, by the grace of God, Duke of Romagna and Valentinois, &c.* (safe conduct of the 16th Oct. 1502). He said to the French Ambassador: "The *King of France, our common master.* . . ." (10 Jany. 1503, Legation of Machiavelli to Cæsar Borgia).

for he could not surpass his father in cruelty and depravity,—but for having made crime into a science, for having set up a school of crime and given lessons in it.[1] However, even the hero of this system gave a splendid proof of its futility by his want of success. Ally as he was of Louis XII. and Gonfaloniere of the Church, he exhausted, during six years, every sort of dissimulation and audacity. He thought that he was working for himself; he told Machiavelli that he had foreseen everything; on his father's death he hoped to nominate a Pope by means of eighteen Spanish cardinals appointed by Alexander VI.; in the Roman States he had gained over the smaller nobles and crushed the higher; he had exterminated the tyrants of Romagna and attached to himself the inhabitants of that province, which breathed freely under his firm and skilful administration. He had foreseen everything except the possibility of his being incapacitated by illness at the death of his father, and this was precisely what happened. The father and son who had, it is said, invited a cardinal to their table in order to murder him, drank the poison which was intended for him. "This man, who used to be so prudent, seems to have lost his head" wrote Machiavelli (14th Nov., 1503). He allowed the new Pope Julius to wrest from him the surrender of all the fortresses in his occupation, and afterwards gave himself up to Gonsalvo of Cordova, believing *that the word of others was worth more than his own* (letter of the 4th November). But Ferdinand the Catholic's general who said "*that the cloth of honour must be of a loose tissue*" sent him to Spain where he was confined in the citadel of Medina del Campo.

Julius II. continued the conquests of Borgia with less personal views. He wished to make the Pontifical State the dominating state of Italy, to deliver the whole peninsula from the *Barbarians* and to make the Swiss the guardians of Italian liberty. Employing spiritual and

[1] Machiavelli says somewhere: "*He sent one of his scholars. . . .*" De Moncada, a general of Charles V., was proud of having studied in this school.

temporal arms by turns, the intrepid pontiff spent his life in the execution of these inconsistent projects; for the Barbarians could be driven out only by means of Venice: and Venice had to be lowered to raise the Church to the rank of the preponderating power in Italy.

In the first place Julius II. wanted to set free his fellow-countrymen the Genoese, and he encouraged them to revolt against Louis XII. The nobles, favoured by the French governor, were continually insulting the people; they went about armed with daggers on which they had engraved the words *castiga villano*. The people revolted and set up a dyer as doge. Louis XII. soon appeared under their walls with a brilliant army; the Chevalier Bayard scaled without difficulty the mountains which cover Genoa and cried out to them "Listen, merchants, defend yourselves with your yardarms and let alone pikes and staves to which you are not accustomed."[1] The King, who did not like to destroy such a splendid city, only hanged the Doge and a few others, burnt the charters of the town and built at the Lanterna a fortress which commanded the entrance into the harbour (1507).

The same jealousy between the monarchies and republics, as well as between nations which were still poor and opulent industry, soon armed most of the princes of the West against the ancient rival of Genoa. The government of Venice had known how to turn to its own advantage the blunders and misfortunes of every other power; it had profited by the fall of Ludovico il Moro, by the expulsion of the French from Naples, by the ruin of Cæsar Borgia. So much success excited the fear and the jealousy of the Italian powers themselves, which ought to have desired the importance of Venice. "Your lordships," Machiavelli wrote to the Florentines, "have always told me that it was the Venetians who threatened the liberty of Italy."[2] As early

[1] Champier, *Les Gestes, ensemble la Vie du preux Chevalier Bayard, &c.*

[2] Embassy to the Emperor, 1508, February. See also his Embassy to the Court of France, 1503, Feb. 13th.

as the year 1503, M. de Chaumont, viceroy of the Milanese, said to the same ambassador: "We shall contrive that the Venetians shall have nothing to do in future but busy themselves in their fishing; as for the Swiss, we are sure of them" (Jan. 22). This conspiracy against Venice, which had existed since 1504 (Treaty of Blois) was renewed in 1508 (League of Cambrai, Dec. 10) by the imprudence of Julius II., who was determined to recover at all costs some of the towns in the Romagna. The Pope, the Emperor and the King of France bribed the King of Hungary to enter into their confederation by the promise of restoring to him Dalmatia and Sclavonia. Every sovereign, even the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua, was eager to strike those whom they had feared so long. The Venetians were defeated by Louis XII. in the bloody battle of Aignadel (1509), and the balls from the French batteries reached the Lagoons. In this danger the Venetian senate did not belie its reputation for sagacity. It declared that it wished to spare its provinces the evils of war, it released them from the oath of fealty, and promised to indemnify them for their losses as soon as peace was restored. Either from attachment to the republic or from hatred of the Germans, the peasants round Verona preferred to die rather than to abjure St. Mark and cry Long live the Emperor! The Venetians beat the Marquis of Mantua, retook Padua and defended it against Maximilian, who laid siege to it with 100,000 men. The King of Naples and the Pope, whose pretensions were satisfied, made peace with Venice, and Julius II. who was now only bent upon driving out the Barbarians from Italy, turned his impetuous policy against the French.

The projects of the Pope were only too well served by the ill-conceived economy of Louis XII., who had reduced the pensions of the Swiss, and who no longer permitted them to provision themselves in Burgundy and in the Milanese. The effects of the blunder committed by Louis XI., who, by substituting a mercenary

Swiss infantry for the free archers, had placed France at the mercy of foreigners, were now felt. The Swiss had to be replaced by German Landsknechts who were recalled by the Emperor on the eve of the battle of Ravenna. The Pope, however, had begun the war; he invited the Swiss into Italy and induced Ferdinand, Venice, Henry VIII. and Maximilian to enter the Holy League against France (1511—1512). While Louis XII., not knowing whether he might without sin defend himself against the Pope, was consulting learned doctors and assembling a council at Pisa, Julius II. besieged the Mirandola in person, planted himself, surrounded by his trembling cardinals, under the fire of the fortress and entered it by the breach.

The brilliant courage of Julius II., and the policy of his allies were for an instant disconcerted by the appearance of Louis XII.'s nephew Gaston de Foix at the head of the French army. This young man of twenty-two years of age, arrived in Lombardy, won three victories in three months and died, leaving the memory of the most impetuous general whom Italy had ever beheld. First he intimidated or gained over the Swiss and drove them back into their mountains; he raised the siege of Bologna and penetrated into the town with his army, favoured by a violent snow-storm (Feb. 7); on the 18th he was before Brescia, which had been retaken by the Venetians: on the 19th he had carried the town and on the 11th April he died in the hour of victory at Ravenna. In the terrible rapidity of his successes he spared neither his own troops nor those he vanquished. Brescia was abandoned for seven days to the fury of the soldiers; the conquerors massacred 15,000 persons, men, women and children. The Chevalier Bayard had few imitators.

Gaston on his return to the Romagna attacked Ravenna to force the army of Spain and the Pope to give battle.[1] As soon as the cannonade had begun, Pedro of Navarre, who had formed the Spanish infantry and who

[1] See Bayard's letter to his uncle, vol. xvi. of the collection of Memoirs.

counted on it for victory, made the men lie on their faces and wait with patience until the balls had destroyed the cavalry on both sides. The Italian horse lost patience, charged, and were broken by the French. The Spanish infantry after sustaining the battle with obstinate courage slowly retired. Gaston, indignant, charged it with about twenty men-at-arms at his back, pierced its ranks, and met his death (1512).

Henceforth nothing succeeded with Louis XII. The Sforzas were re-established in Milan, the Medicis in Florence. The King's army was beaten by the Swiss at Novara and by the English at Guinegate. France, attacked in front by the Spaniards and Swiss, in the rear by the English, saw her two allies Scotland and Navarre beaten or despoiled (see Chap. II.). The war had no longer an object; the Swiss reigned at Milan in the name of Maximilian Sforza; France and Venice were humiliated, the Emperor exhausted, Henry VIII. discouraged, and Ferdinand satisfied by the conquest of Navarre which laid bare the frontier of France. Louis XII. concluded a truce with Ferdinand, abjured the Council of Pisa, left the Milanese to Maximilian Sforza and married the sister of Henry VIII. (1514). (*See below, his administration.*)

While Europe believed France to be exhausted, and, as it were, to have grown old with Louis XII., she suddenly displayed unexpected resources under the young Francis I. who succeeded him (Jan. 1, 1515). The Swiss, who thought that they held all the passes of the Alps, heard with astonishment that the French army had defiled through the valley of the Argentière. Two thousand five hundred lances, 10,000 Basques, and 22,000 Landsknechts passed through a defile which had never before been penetrated except by chamois-hunters. The French army advanced as far as Marignan negotiating as they marched; there, the Swiss, whom they thought they had won over, fell upon the French with their pikes, eighteen feet long, and their two-handed swords, without either artillery or cavalry, employing no military skill but mere strength of

body, marching right up to the batteries, whose discharges swept away whole files, and sustaining more than thirty charges of the great war horses, which were covered with steel like the men who sat on them. By the evening they had succeeded in separating the divisions of the French army. The King, who had fought valiantly, saw round him only a handful of horsemen.[1] But during the night the French rallied and the battle recommenced at daybreak more furiously than ever. At length the Swiss heard the war-cry of the Venetians, who were allies of France, "Marco! Marco!" Believing that the whole of the Italian army was coming, they closed their ranks and fell back with such an air of defiance that the enemy durst not pursue them.[2] Having obtained from Francis I. more money than Sforza could give them, they re-appeared no more in Italy. The Pope also treated with the conqueror and obtained from him the Concordat which abolished the Pragmatic Sanction. His alliance with the Pope and Venice seemed to open to Francis I. the road to Naples. Young Charles of Austria, sovereign of the Netherlands, who had just succeeded in Spain to his grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic, was in need of peace to consolidate this vast inheritance. But Francis I. enjoyed his victory instead of pursuing it. The treaty of Noyon restored for a short time peace to Europe, and gave the two rivals time to prepare for a still more terrible war (1516).

[1] Fleuranges, vol. xvi. of the collection of Memoirs.

[2] *Letter of Francis I. to his mother.* "All night we sat on our horses lance in hand, helmet on head, and as I was the nearest to the enemy, it was my duty to watch, that they might not surprise us in the morning . . . and believe me, madam, that we were 28 hours on horseback, without eating or drinking . . . So obstinate and cruel a battle has not been seen for 2,000 years . . . and it can no longer be said that the gendarmes are hares in armour, for . . . Written at the camp of St. Brigida, on Friday the 14th Sept., 1515." vol. xvii. of the collection of Memoirs.

SECOND PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

1517—1648.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

If we consider only the succession of wars and political events, the 16th century is an age of blood and devastation. It opens with the laying waste of Italy by the mercenary troops of Francis I. and Charles V., with the frightful ravages of Soliman who year after year ravaged Hungary. Then come those terrible religious struggles when war is no longer waged between nation and nation, but between town and town, man and man, when it extends to the domestic hearth and rages even between father and son. If we left off reading history at this crisis we should think that Europe was about to fall into profound barbarism. Far from this, however, the delicate flower of art and of civilisation was growing and developing amid the violent shocks which threatened to destroy it. Michael Angelo painted the Sistine Chapel in the year of the battle of Ravenna. Young Tartaglia escaped mutilated from the sack of Brescia to restore the science of mathematics.[1] The period when the study of law revived—the age of L'Hôpital and Cujas—was that of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The character of the 16th century, that which distinguishes it fundamentally from the Middle Ages, is the power of opinion, which at this period became the true

[1] Daru, History of Venice, vol. iii. p. 558.

ruler of the world. Henry VIII. dared not divorce Catherine of Aragon until he had consulted the principal universities in Europe. Charles V. endeavoured to prove his faith by the persecution of the Moors whilst his armies seized and exacted ransom from the Pope. Francis I. raised the first scaffold on which the French Protestants suffered, to excuse, in the eyes of his subjects and in his own, his alliance with Soliman and the German Lutherans. Even these acts of intolerance were so much homage offered to opinion. Princes courted at that time the most unworthy ministers of fame. The Kings of France and Spain bid one against another for the favour of Paulus Jovius and of Aretino.

While France followed Italy, though at a distance, in the path of intellectual and artistic development, two other nations of profoundly serious character put aside arts and letters as frivolous playthings or profane amusements. The Spaniards, a conquering and political people occupied in conquering and governing Europe, rested in all speculative matters on the authority of the Church. While Spain inclined more and more to political and religious unity, Germany with her anarchical constitution gave herself up to the wildest license of opinion. France, placed between them both, became in the 16th century the principal field of battle for these two opposite tempers, and the even balance between their powers rendered the struggle all the more violent and protracted.

CHAPTER VI.

LEO X., FRANCIS I., AND CHARLES V.

1516—1547.

HOWEVER severely we may judge Francis I. and Leo X., they are men of a nobler stamp than the princes of the preceding age (Alexander VI., James III., &c.). even in their faults there is something great and glorious. It is true that they did not make their century what it was, but they showed themselves to be worthy of it. They loved the arts and the arts still plead for them and ask our forgiveness for their memory. The price of the indulgences, whose sale excited the indignation of Germany, paid for the paintings in the Vatican and the building of St. Peter's. The exactions of Duprat are forgotten. The Imprimerie Royale and the Collége de France remain.

Charles V. presents himself to us under a severer aspect, surrounded by his generals and statesmen, among whom were Lannoy, Pescaro, Antonio de Leyva and many other illustrious captains. We see him constantly traversing Europe to visit all the scattered portions of his empire, speaking to each nation its own language, encountering in turn Francis I. and the Protestants in Germany, Soliman and the inhabitants of Barbary; he is the real successor of Charlemagne, the defender of the Christian world. Nevertheless the statesman predominated in him over the soldier. He presents the first instance of a modern sovereign: Francis I. is little more than a hero of the Middle Ages.

When the Empire became vacant by the death of Maximilian I. (1519), and the Kings of France, Spain, and England demanded the Imperial crown, the electors, fearing to impose on themselves a master, offered it to one of their own body—Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. This prince, however, showed himself worthy of his name by inducing them to choose the King of Spain. Of the three candidates Charles was the most dangerous for German freedom, but he also was the most capable of defending Germany against the Turks. Selim and Soliman revived at that time the fear which had been experienced by Europe in the days of Mahomet II. The ruler of Spain, Naples and Austria could alone close the civilised world against the barbarians of Africa and Asia.

With their candidature for the Imperial crown, burst forth the inextinguishable rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V. The former claimed Naples for himself and Navarre for Henri d'Albret: the Emperor demanded the Milanese as a fief of the Empire, and the Duchy of Burgundy. Their resources were about equal. If the empire of Charles were more extensive the kingdom of France was more compact. The Emperor's subjects were richer, but his authority more circumscribed. The reputation of the French cavalry was not inferior to that of the Spanish infantry. Victory would belong to the one who should win over the King of England to his side. Henry VIII. had reason to adopt as his device "*Whom I defend is master.*" Both gave pensions to his Prime Minister Cardinal Wolsey; they each asked the hand of his daughter Mary, one for the dauphin, the other for himself. Francis I. obtained from him an interview at Calais, and forgetting that he wished to gain his favour, eclipsed him by his elegance and magnificence.[1] Charles V., more adroit, had anticipated this interview by visiting Henry VIII. in England. He had secured Wolsey by

[1] This assembly was called the *Field of the Cloth of Gold* . . . in so much that many carried their mills, their forests, and their fields on their shoulders. Martin du Bellay, vol. xvii. p. 285.

giving him hopes of the tiara. The negotiation was much easier, indeed, for him than for Francis I. Henry VIII. already owed the French King a grudge for governing Scotland by means of the Duke of Albany, his *protégé* and subject[1] to the detriment of Margaret, widow of James IV. and sister of the King of England. By uniting with Charles V. he stood a chance of recovering some of the dominions which his ancestors had formerly possessed in France.

Everything succeeded with the Emperor. He gained Leo X. to his side and thus obtained sufficient influence to raise his tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to the papacy. The French penetrated into Spain, but arrived too late to aid the rising there (1521). The governor of the Milanese, Lautrec, who is said to have exiled from Milan nearly half its inhabitants, was driven out of Lombardy. He met with the same fate again in the following year: the Swiss, who were ill-paid, asked either for dismissal or battle, and allowed themselves to be beaten at La Bicoque. The money intended for the troops had been used for other purposes by the Queen-mother, who hated Lautrec.

At the moment when Francis I. was thinking of re-entering Italy, an internal enemy threw France into the utmost danger. Francis had given mortal offence to the Constable of Bourbon, one of those who had most contributed to the victory of Marignan. Charles, Count of Montpensier and Dauphin of Auvergne, held by virtue of his wife, a grand-daughter of Louis XI., the Duchy of Bourbon, and the counties of Clermont, La Marche and other domains, which made him the first noble in the kingdom. On the death of his wife, the Queen-mother Louise of Savoy, who had wanted to marry the Constable and had been refused by him, resolved to ruin him. She disputed with him this rich inheritance and obtained from her son that the property

[1] Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 135. The Regent himself, in his dispatches called the King of France "my master." He set far more value on his great possessions in France than on the Regency of Scotland.

should be provisionally sequestered.[1] Bourbon, exasperated, resolved to pass over to the Emperor (1523). Half a century earlier, revolt did not mean disloyalty. The most accomplished knights in France, Dunois and John of Calabria, had joined the *League for the public weal.* Even recently Don Pedro de Giron, displeased with Charles V., had declared to his face that he renounced his service and should take the command of the *Communeros.*[2] But now it was no question of a revolt against the King, such a thing was impossible in France at this time. It was a conspiracy against the very existence of France that Bourbon was plotting with foreigners. He promised Charles V. to attack Burgundy as soon as Francis I. had crossed the Alps, and to rouse into revolt five provinces of which he believed himself master; the Kingdom of Provence was to be re-established in his favour, and France partitioned between Spain and England, would have ceased to exist as a nation. He was soon able to enjoy the reverses of his country. Having become general of the Imperial army he saw the French fly before him at La Biagrasse; he saw the Chevalier Bayard mortally wounded and lying at the foot of a tree, "his face turned toward the enemy, and he said to the "said Bayard that he had great compassion for him "seeing him in this state, in that he had been such a vir- "tuous knight." The Captain Bayard made him this answer, "Sir, you need have no pity for me, for I die an "honest man, but I have pity on you, seeing you serve "against your prince, your country and your oath."[3]

Bourbon had thought that on his first appearance in France, his vassals would flock to serve with him under the foreign standard. But not one came. The Imperialists were driven back from the walls of Marseilles, and they saved their exhausted army only by a retreat which

[1] See the Constable's letter to Francis I. in the Memoirs of Du Bellay, vol. xvii. p. 413.

[2] Sepulveda, vol. i. p. 79.

[3] Du Bellay, vol. xvii. p. 451.

resembled a flight. Instead of overpowering them in Provence the King chose to anticipate them in Italy.

In a period of military science and tactics Francis I. always fancied himself in the age of chivalry. His point of honour was not to draw back even in order to conquer. He maintained obstinately the siege of Pavia (1525). He gave no time to the Imperialists who were ill-paid to disperse of themselves. He weakened himself by detaching 12,000 men against the Kingdom of Naples. His superiority lay in artillery; he chose to decide the victory as at Marignan by his cavalry, whose charge in front of the artillery rendered it useless. The Swiss fled, the Landsknechts with their colonel, the *White Rose*,[1] were crushed. The whole weight of the battle then fell upon the King and his cavalry. The old heroes of the Italian wars, La Palisse and La Trémouille were struck down; the King of Navarre, Montmorency, *l'Aventureux*,[2] and many others were taken prisoners. Francis I. defended himself on foot; his horse had been killed under him; his armour, which we still possess, was riddled by balls and thrusts of pike. Happily one of the French nobles who had followed Bourbon caught sight of him and saved him; but he would not yield to a traitor; he called the Viceroy of Naples who received his sword on his knees. At night he wrote these words to his mother: "Madam, all is lost except honour."[3]

Charles V. was well aware that all was *not* lost, he did not exaggerate his success, he felt that France was strong and entire, although she had lost an army. He endeavoured only to obtain from his prisoner an advan-

[1] The Duke of Suffolk.

[2] The Maréchal de Fleuranges.

[3] See the letter in which Charles V. acquaints the Marquis of Denia with the captivity of Francis I. (Sandoval, vol. i. book xiii. sec. ii., p. 487, in fol., Antwerp 1581), that which he wrote to the Emperor in her son's behalf; that of Francis I. to the different orders in the state, and the Act of Abdication; vol. xxii. of the collection of Memoirs, p. 69, 71, and 84.

tageous treaty. Francis I. arrived in Spain believing, from the movements of his own heart that it would be enough for him to meet his *Good Brother* to be sent back honourably to his kingdom. Such was not the case. The Emperor ill-treated his prisoner to obtain a larger ransom. Europe, however, manifested deep interest in the *soldier-king*.[1] Erasmus, who was a subject of Charles V., ventured to write to him in favour of his captive. The Spanish nobles asked that he might be a prisoner on parole, offering themselves as sureties. It was only at the end of a year, when Charles V. feared to lose his prisoner through death, and Francis I. had abdicated in favour of the dauphin, that the Emperor made up his mind to release him after forcing him to sign a shameful treaty. The King of France renounced his pretensions in Italy, promised to acknowledge the rights of Bourbon, to give up Burgundy, to yield his two sons as hostages, and to ally himself by a double marriage to the family of Charles V. (1526).

At this price he was free. But he did not come out whole from this fatal prison. He left behind the good faith, the heroic trust which, till then, had been his glory. Already at Madrid he entered a secret protest against the treaty. Once more king, it was easy for him to elude it. Henry VIII., alarmed by the victory of Charles V., allied himself with France. The Pope, Venice, Florence, Genoa, even the Duke of Milan, who, since the battle of Pavia found himself at the mercy of the Imperial armies, saw only liberators in the French. Francis I. caused the states of Burgundy to declare that he had no right to give up any portion of the French territory, and when Charles V. claimed the execution of the treaty, accusing him of breach of faith, he replied that the Emperor *lied in his throat*, summoned him *to mark out the field*, and left him the choice of arms.[2]

While Europe was expecting a terrible war, Francis I.

[1] Expression used by Montluc when speaking to Francis I. himself, vol. xxi. p. 6.

[2] Du Bellay, vol. xviii. p. 38.

was thinking only of compromising his allies in order to frighten Charles V. and soften the conditions of the treaty of Madrid. Italy continued a prey to the most hideous war which ever disfigured humanity; it was less a war than a long torture inflicted by a ferocious soldiery on an unarmed people. The ill-paid troops of Charles V. belonged neither to him nor to anyone else, they commanded their own generals. For full two months Milan was abandoned to the cold barbarity of the Spaniards. As soon as it was known in Germany that Italy was thus delivered to pillage, 13,000 or 14,000 Germans crossed the Alps under George Freundsberg, a furious Lutheran, who wore round his neck a gold chain with which he intended, he said, to strangle the Pope. Bourbon and Leyva led, or rather followed, this army of robbers. It was swelled on the road by numbers of Italians who imitated the vices of the barbarians as they could not emulate their courage. The army marched by way of Ferrara and Bologna; it was on the point of entering Tuscany, and the Spaniards swore by *the glorious sack of Florence,*[1] but a stronger impulse drew the Germans towards Rome, as in former times it drew the Goths, their ancestors. Clement VII., who had treated with the Viceroy of Naples, and who nevertheless saw the army of Bourbon approaching, endeavoured to blind himself, and seems to have been fascinated by the very extremity of the danger. He dismissed his best troops on the approach of the Imperialists, fancying, perhaps, that Rome unarmed would inspire them with respect. On the morning of the 6th May, Bourbon commenced the assault (1527). He wore a white shirt over his armour to be more conspicuous, both to his own troops and to those of the enemy. In such an odious enterprise success alone could justify him in his own eyes; perceiving that his German infantry supported him feebly, he seized a ladder, and was scaling it when a ball struck him in the back; he felt that it was his death blow, and ordered his men to cover

[1] Sismondi, vol. xv., from the *Lettere de' principi*, vol. ii. fol. 47.

his body with his cloak and thus conceal his fall. His soldiers avenged him only too amply. Seven or eight thousand Romans were massacred on the first day, nothing was spared, neither convents nor churches, nor even St. Peter's itself; the streets were filled with relics and ornaments from the altars, which the Germans threw away after having torn off the gold and silver. The Spaniards, still more covetous and cruel, renewed every day, for more than a year, the most frightful abuses of victory, the cries were constantly heard of the unhappy victims who were made to perish in tortures in order to force them to own where they had hidden their money. The soldiers left them bound in their own houses, in order to find them when they wanted to recommence torturing them.

Indignation reached its height in Europe when the sack of Rome and the captivity of the Pontiff became known. Charles V. ordered prayers for the deliverance of the Pope who was more the prisoner of the Imperial army than of the Emperor. Francis I. thought the moment favourable for despatching to Italy the troops which, a few months earlier, would have saved Rome and Milan. Lautrec marched upon Naples while the Imperial generals negotiated with their troops to induce them to leave Rome; but Lautrec as in the first wars was not supplied with money. Pestilence consumed his army. However, nothing was lost as long as the communication by sea with France was preserved. Francis I. had the imprudence to displease Doria, the Genoese, the first sailor of the time. "It seemed," says Montluc, "as if the sea were afraid of that man."[1] The ransom of the Prince of Orange had been withheld from him, his ships were not paid, an admiral of the Levant had been named to supersede him. Francis I. irritated him still more by not respecting the privileges of Genoa and proposing to remove the commerce of the town to Savona. Instead of redressing these grievances, Francis ordered his arrest. Doria, whose engagement with France had just expired,

[1] Montluc, vol. xx. p. 370

passed over to the Emperor on condition that his country should be independent and once more rule over Liguria. Charles V. offered to acknowledge him as the Sovereign of Genoa, but he preferred to be the first Citizen of a free town.

Both parties, however, wished for peace. Charles V. was alarmed by the progress of the Reformation and the invasion of the terrible Soliman who sat down before Vienna; Francis I., exhausted, sought only to secure his own interests at the expense of his allies. He wanted to get back his children and to retain Burgundy. Until the eve of the treaty he protested to his Italian allies that he would not separate his interests from theirs. He refused permission to the Florentines to make a separate treaty with the Emperor, [1] and he signed the Peace of Cambrai by which he abandoned them and the Venetians and all his partisans to the vengeance of Charles V. (1529). This odious treaty for ever banished the French from Italy. Henceforth the chief theatre of war was elsewhere; in Savoy, in Picardy, in the Low Countries, and in Lorraine.

While Christendom was hoping for some repose, a scourge unknown till then was ravaging the shores of Italy and Spain. About this time the Barbarenes introduced the practice of white slavery. The Turks first laid waste the countries which they wanted to invade; it is thus that they turned almost into a desert Southern Hungary and the western provinces of the old Greek Empire. The Tartars and the Barbarenes, the forlorn hope of the Ottoman Empire, seconded her in the east and south in this system of depopulation. The Knights of Rhodes whom Charles V. had established in the Island of Malta, were not powerful enough to sweep from the sea the innumerable vessels commanded by Barbarossa, who was the Dey of Tunis and Soliman's Admiral. Charles V. resolved to attack the pirate in his lair (1535). Five hundred ships bore into Africa an army of 30,000 men, con-

[1] Guicciardini, book xix.

sisting in great part of the veteran bands who had been engaged in the Italian wars. The Pope and the King of Portugal had contributed vessels to this fleet. Doria sent his galleys, and the Emperor joined in person with the *élite* of the Spanish nobility. The fleet of Barbarossa was not strong enough to resist the most formidable armament which Christendom had directed against the Infidels since the Crusades. The port of Tunis was taken by assault, Tunis itself yielded, and 20,000 Christians delivered from slavery and brought back to their homes at the expense of the Emperor, caused the name of Charles V. to be blessed throughout Europe.

The conduct of Francis I. presented a sad contrast. He had just declared his alliance with Soliman (1534). He negotiated with the German Protestants and with Henry VIII., who had divorced the aunt of Charles V. and abandoned the Church. He obtained from neither the assistance which he expected. Soliman marched his Janissaries to destruction in the boundless deserts of Asia. Henry VIII. was too much engaged at home in the religious revolution which he was effecting with so much violence. The German confederates of Smalkeld could not trust a prince who caressed the Protestants in Dresden and burnt them in Paris. Nevertheless Francis I. renewed the war by invading Savoy and threatening the Milanese (1535). The Duke of Savoy, alarmed by the pretensions of the mother of the King of France (Louise of Savoy), had married the sister-in-law of Charles V. The Duke of Milan, accused by the Emperor of treating with the French, had tried to exculpate himself by beheading on some foolish pretext the Ambassador of Francis I. Charles V. announced in Rome, in presence of the envoys of all Christendom, that he was sure of victory, and declared that "if he had no more resources "than his rival he should go at once, with his arms tied, "and a rope round his neck to throw himself at his "enemy's feet and ask for mercy." Before entering upon the campaign, he shared between his officers the estates and principal charges belonging to the Crown of France.

In truth, the whole world thought that Francis I. was lost. They were not aware of the resources which France contained. In the year 1533 the King had at length decided on making a national infantry the main force in the French army. He remembered that the Swiss had caused the loss of the battle of Bicoque and perhaps that of Pavia; that the Landsknechts had been recalled by the Emperor on the eve of the battle of Ravenna. But thus to put arms into the hands of the people, was considered a great risk.[1] In an edict respecting field sports proclaimed in 1517, Francis I. had forbidden the people to carry arms on pain of severe punishment. Yet he resolved to create seven provincial legions, each 6,000 strong and taken from the provinces on the frontiers. These troops had not been much disciplined when the armies of Charles V. entered simultaneously Provence, Champagne, and Picardy. Francis I., therefore, not trusting to their steadiness, determined to stop the enemy by opposing to him a desert. All Provence, from the Alps to Marseilles and from the sea to Dauphiny was laid waste with inflexible severity by Marshal Montmorency; villages, farms and mills were burnt, and every appearance of culture destroyed. The Marshal, established in an impregnable camp between the Rhone and the Durance, waited patiently until the Emperor's army had melted away before Marseilles. Charles V. was forced to retire and to consent to a truce in which the Pope became the intermediary. (Truce of Nice, 1538.) A month afterwards Charles and Francis met at Aigues-Mortes and these princes who had insulted each other so grossly, one of whom accused the other

[1] "On the first symptom of war King Francis equipped legionaries, which was a fine invention, if it had been well carried out; for it is the true way to have always a good army afoot, as the Romans did; and to keep the nation in the practice of war; though I do not know if this be a good thing or not. It gives rise to no small disputes; and yet for my part I should prefer trusting to my own troops rather than to strangers."—Montluc, vol. xx. p. 385.

of having poisoned the dauphin, gave each other every assurance of fraternal affection.

The exhaustion of the two rivals was the only real motive for the truce. Although Charles V. had endeavoured to gain over the Cortes of Castile by authorising constant sessions, after the manner of Aragon, and by a renewal of the laws excluding foreigners from employment, he had not been able to obtain any supplies in 1527, 1533, or 1538. Ghent had taken up arms rather than pay a new tax. The administration of Mexico was not yet organised; Peru still belonged only to the conquerors who ravaged it by their civil wars. The Emperor had been obliged to sell a great part of the royal domains, he had contracted a debt of seven million ducats and could no longer borrow from any bank, even at 13 or 14 per cent. This penury excited, about the year 1539, an almost universal mutiny in the armies of Charles V. They mutinied in Sicily, plundered Lombardy and threatened to give up the Goletta to Barbarossa. It was necessary at any price to give them the arrears of their pay and to disband the greater number.

The King of France was equally embarrassed. Since the accession of Charles VIII. the national resources had developed rapidly in consequence of internal tranquillity, but the expenses were greatly in excess of the resources. Charles VII. had had 1,700 men at arms. Francis I. had as many as 3,000, without counting 6,000 light horse and often 12,000 or 15,000 Swiss. Charles VII. raised less than two million francs by taxes; Louis XI. raised five, Francis I. nearly nine. After 1484 the kings left off assembling the States-General to meet their expenses.[1] They substituted for them assemblies of the notables (1526) and generally raised money by decrees (*ordonnances*) which they obliged the Parliament of Paris to register.

Louis XII., the *Father of the People*, at first diminished

[1] Only once at Tours, in 1506, and then only to annul the treaty of Blois.

the taxes and put up for sale the financial offices (1499); but he was obliged, towards the end of his reign, to increase the taxes, to raise loans, and to alienate the royal domains (1511-1514). Francis I. established new taxes (especially in 1523), sold and multiplied judicial places (1515, 1522, 1524), founded the first perpetual annuities upon the Hôtel de Ville, alienated the royal domains (1532—1544), and finally established the royal lottery (1539).

He had a sort of advantage over Charles V. in being able to ruin himself easily. He profited by it when the Emperor failed in his great expedition against Algiers (1541—1542). Two years before, Charles V., when passing through France to repress the revolt of Ghent, had amused the King by promising the investiture of the Milanese to the Duke of Orleans, his second son. The Duchess of Etampes, who governed the King, perceiving that his health was failing, and fearing the hatred of Diana of Poitiers, the dauphin's mistress, tried to procure for the Duke of Orleans an independent position which might afford her an asylum on the death of Francis I. To this principal cause of the war must be added the assassination of two French envoys, who in crossing through Italy on their way to the Court of Soliman were killed in the Milanese by order of the Imperial government, who wanted to seize their papers. Francis I. counted upon the alliance with the Turks and on his friendship with the Protestant princes of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; he had especially attached to his side William Duke of Cleves, by promising him the hand of his niece, Jeanne d'Albret, afterwards the mother of Henri IV. He invaded almost at the same time Roussillon, Piedmont, Luxemburg, Brabant and Flanders. Soliman joined his fleet to that of Francis; they bombarded in vain the castle of Nice. But the sight of the crescent united with the fleur-de-lis set all Christendom against the King of France. Even those who hitherto had favoured him shut their eyes to the interests of Europe and joined Charles V. The Empire declared itself against the ally

of Turkey. The King of England, reconciled to Charles V. since the death of Catherine of Aragon, took part against Francis I. who had given his daughter to the King of Scotland. Henry VIII. defeated James V. (1543), Charles V. overpowered the Duke of Cleves (1453), and the two sovereigns, having nothing to fear in their rear united to invade the kingdom of Francis I. France, alone against all, displayed unexpected vigour; she fought with five armies, and surprised the confederates by the brilliant victory of Cérisoles (the infantry gained this battle after the defeat of the cavalry).[1] Charles V., ill-supported by Henry VIII., and recalled by the progress of Soliman in Hungary, signed, at thirteen leagues from Paris, a treaty by which Francis resigned his claim to Naples, and Charles to Burgundy; while the Duke of Orleans was promised the Milanese (1545). The Kings of France and England soon afterwards made peace, and both died in the same year (1547).

The long struggle between the two great European powers was far from over, but it now became complicated with religious interests, which cannot be understood without comprehending the progress of the Reformation in Germany. We will stop here to look back and examine the internal state of France and Spain during the rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V.

In Spain, monarchy was advancing rapidly towards the absolute power which it had attained in France. Charles V. followed the example of his father and made several laws without the authorization of the Cortes. In 1538 the nobles and prelates of Castile having rejected the general tax called *Sisa*, which would have affected the sale of commodities in detail, the King of Spain ceased to convoke them, alleging that they had no right to vote taxes which they did not pay. The Cortes were henceforth composed only of the thirty-six deputies sent by the eighteen towns which alone were represented. The nobles

[1] Montluc, book xxi. p. 31.

repented too late having joined the King to oppress the communeros in 1521.

The progress made by the power of the Inquisition in Spain was all the more rapid as Charles V. became more alarmed by the agitation in Germany, as to the political consequences of the religious innovations. The Inquisition was introduced into the Low Countries in 1522; and if it had not been for the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants it would have been established in Naples in 1546. The right of exercising royal jurisdiction was for some time withdrawn from the tribunals of the inquisition (in Spain 1535—1545, in Sicily 1535—1550), but was at length restored to them. From 1539, the Chief Inquisitor Tabera governed Spain in the absence of the Emperor, in the name of the Infant, afterwards Philip II.

The reign of Francis I. was the culminating point of royalty in France, until the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu. Francis began by concentrating in his own hands the powers of the clergy by the treaty of the Concordat (1515), he limited ecclesiastical jurisdictions (1539), organised a system of police,[1] and silenced the parliaments. That of Paris had already been weakened under Charles VII. and Louis XI. by the creation of the parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux and Dijon (1451, 1462, 1477); under Louis XII. by that of the parliaments of Rouen and Aix (1499—1501). During the captivity of Francis I., it endeavoured to regain some importance and commenced proceedings against Chancellor Duprat. But the King, on his return, forbade the parliament to interfere henceforth in politics and deprived it further of influence by multiplying and selling parliamentary employments.

Francis I. boasted of having set the King for the future above the law (*hors de page*). But the growing agitation of men's minds, which had been remarkable in this reign, foretold new troubles. The spirit of liberty

[1] Instructions of Catherine de Medicis to her son.

was animating religion: one day it was to return with double vigour, and reanimate the political institutions of the country. At first the reformers restricted themselves to attacks against the morals of the clergy. Of the Colloquies of Erasmus, 24,000 copies were printed, but the edition was quickly exhausted. The Psalms translated by Marot were soon sung to the same airs as the songs of the day, by the nobles and ladies, while the decree by which the laws were in future to be written in French, enabled the public to understand and discuss political affairs (1523—1524). The courts of Marguerite of Navarre, and of the Duchess of Ferrara, Renée of France, were the rendezvous of all who shared the new opinions. The utmost frivolity and the most profound fanaticism met together at Nérac in Marot and Calvin. Francis I. at first saw without uneasiness this intellectual agitation. He had protected the first French Protestants against the clergy (1523—1524). In 1534, when he drew closer his alliance with the Protestants in Germany, he invited Melanchthon to present a conciliatory profession of faith. He had favoured the Revolution of Geneva, which became the hotbed of Calvinism (1535). After his return from Madrid, however, he treated the Protestants in France with greater severity. In 1527 and in 1534, the ferment caused by the new doctrines having manifested itself by outrages inflicted on the holy images, and by placards on the walls of the Louvre, several Protestants were burnt over a slow fire in presence of the King and the whole court. In 1535, he ordered the suppression of printing presses on pain of the gallows, and on the remonstrance of parliament he revoked this edict in the same year to establish in its place the censorship.[1]

The end of the reign of Francis I. was marked by a frightful event. The Vaudois, inhabitants of some inaccessible valleys in Provence and Dauphiny, had preserved Arian doctrines, and had just adopted those

[1] MSS. Registers of the Parliaments of Paris.

of Calvin. The strong position which they occupied among the Alps gave rise to some uneasiness. In 1540 the parliament of Aix ordered Cabrières and Mérindol, their chief places of meeting, to be burnt. After the retreat of Charles V. (1545) the decree was enforced, in spite of the representations of Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras. The President d'Oppède, Guérin, the King's advocate, and Captain Paulin, formerly envoy from the King in Turkey, penetrated into the valleys, exterminated the inhabitants with unheard of cruelty, and laid waste the whole country. This atrocious deed may be considered as one of the principal causes of the civil wars which afterwards took place.

CHAPTER VII.

LUTHER.

REFORMATION IN GERMANY. WAR WITH THE TURKS.

1517—1555.

ALL the European states had attained monarchical unity, the balance of power was beginning to be established, when the ancient religious unity of the West was broken by the Reformation. This event, the greatest in modern times, except the French Revolution, separated half Europe from the Roman Catholic Church, and occasioned most of the revolutions and wars which occurred up to the Peace of Westphalia. Since the Reformation Europe has been divided so as to coincide with the division of race. The nations of Latin origin have remained Catholic. Protestantism prevails among the Teutonic, and the Greek Church among the Sclavonic races.

In the first period of the Reformation Luther and Zwinglius were opposed to each other; in the second Calvin and Socinus. Luther and Calvin preserved some portion of the ancient dogma and hierarchy. Zwinglius and Socinus gradually reduced religion to deism. Pontifical monarchy having been overthrown by the aristocratic system of Luther, the latter was attacked by the democratic system of Calvin; it was a reform within a reform. During the first two periods some old anarchical sects, partly composed of apocalyptical visionaries, revived and gave to the Reformation the formidable

aspect of a war against society; they were the Anabaptists in the first period, the Independents and Levellers in the second.

The principle of the Reformation was essentially changing and progressive. Divided even in its cradle, it spread throughout Europe under a hundred different forms. Repulsed in Italy, Spain and Portugal (1526), in Poland (1523), it established itself in Bohemia by means of the privileges of the Calixtins; it was supported in England by the memory of Wycliffe. It proportioned itself to every degree of civilization, and conformed to the political needs of each country. Democratic in Switzerland (1523), aristocratic in Denmark (1527), it identified itself in Sweden with the elevation of the royal power (1529), in the Empire with the cause of German liberty.

§ I. Origin of the Reformation.

In the memorable year 1517, whence the beginning of the Reformation is generally dated, neither Europe, nor the Pope, nor even Luther anticipated this great event. The Christian princes were in league against the Turks. Leo X. invaded the Duchy of Urbino and carried to its highest point the temporal power of the Holy See. In spite of the embarrassment of his finances, which obliged him to sell indulgences in Germany, and to create thirty-one cardinals at one time, he lavished the revenues of the Church with profusion on artists and learned men. He even sent to Denmark and Sweden for memorials of Northern history. He authorised by a bull the sale of the *Orlando Furioso*,[1] and accepted Raphael's eloquent letter on the "Restoration of Antiquities in Rome." In the midst of these occupations, he heard that a professor of the new University of Wittenberg, called Martin Luther, already known as having, in the

[1] Published in 1516.

preceding year, hazarded very bold opinions on matters of faith, had just attacked the sale of indulgences.

Leo X., who corresponded with Erasmus, was not alarmed by these novelties; he replied to the accusers that Luther was a man of talent, and that the whole dispute was only a monkish quarrel.[1]

The University of Wittenberg, recently founded by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, was one of the first in Germany in which Platonism had triumphed over scholastic philosophy, and in which letters were taught as well as law, theology and philosophy. Luther himself had first studied law; then having adopted the monk's cowl in a fit of religious enthusiasm, he resolved to search for philosophy in Plato, and for religion in the Bible. But his chief distinction was not so much his vast knowledge, as his vivid and ardent eloquence, and the ease (a power unusual at that time) with which he discussed religious and philosophical subjects in his mother-tongue.[2] His impetuous temper when once excited, went farther than he intended.[3] He attacked first the abuse and next the principle of indulgences, then

[1] Che Fra Martino aveva bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie fratesche.

[2] Bossuet.

[3] Luther, Preface to the Captivity of Babylon. "Whether I will or not, I am forced to become every day more learned since such celebrated doctors attack me, sometimes together, sometimes separately. Two years ago I wrote upon indulgences, but I now repent very much having published that little work. I was still irresolute, from a superstitious reverence for the Tyranny of Rome: I thought *then* that indulgences were not to be condemned; but, since that time, thanks to Sylvester and the other defenders of indulgences, I have understood that it was only an invention of the Papal court to make men lose their faith in God and their money. Then came Eccius and Emser with their band, to teach me the supremacy and omnipotence of the Pope. I must own, not to appear ungrateful to such learned men, that I profited greatly by their writings. I had denied that the Papacy was by Divine right, but I conceded that it was by Human right. After having heard and read the subtilties by means of which these poor creatures wished to elevate their idol, I convinced myself that the Papacy is the Kingdom of Babylon and the power of Nimrod, *the mighty hunter*."

intercession of saints, auricular confession, purgatory, the celibacy of priests, transubstantiation, and finally the authority of the Church and the character of her visible Head. Pressed in vain by the legate Caietano to retract, he appealed from the legate to the Pope, and from the Pope to a general council; and when the Pope had condemned him he dared to retaliate and solemnly burnt in the public place of Wittenberg the bull of condemnation and the volumes of canon law (15th June, 1520).

So bold a stroke filled Europe with astonishment. The greater number of sects and heresies had grown up in the shade and would have been happy to remain ignored. Zwinglius himself, whose sermons at this time were estranging half Switzerland from the authority of the Holy See, had not proclaimed himself with this audacity.[1] Something still grander was looked for in the man who constituted himself judge of the Head of the Church. Luther proclaimed his courage and success to be miraculous.

It was, however, easy to see how many favourable circumstances encouraged the Reformer. The pontifical monarchy, which at first had brought the chaos of the Middle Ages in some measure into order, had been

[1] Zwinglius, minister of Zürich, began to preach in 1516; the cantons of Zürich, Basle, Schaffhausen, Berne, and the allied towns of St. Gall and Mulhausen embraced his doctrine. Those of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, Soleure, and the Valais, remained faithful to the Catholic religion. Glarus and Appenzell were divided. The inhabitants of the Catholic cantons, democratically governed and almost all living out of towns, held to their ancient usages, and continued to receive pensions from the King of France. Francis I. in vain offered himself as mediator to the Swiss: the Catholic cantons would not accept the proposed pacification, those of Zürich and Berne cut off their supplies. The Catholics invaded the territory of Zürich and defeated the Protestants in a battle in which Zwinglius was killed fighting at the head of his flock (battle of Capel, 1531). The Catholics, ruder, more warlike, and less rich, were victorious in the beginning, but could not sustain the war as long as the Protestant cantons.—Sleidan, Müller, Hist. Univ. vol. 4 (see for Geneva the following chapter).

weakened, first by the increased power of the Crown, and secondly by that of the civil government. The scandals with which many priests afflicted the Church mined every day an edifice which was already shaken by the spirit of doubt and contradiction. Two circumstances coincided in determining its ruin. First, the invention of printing gave to the innovators of the 15th century a means of communication and propagation, the want of which had prevented those of the Middle Ages from combining to resist a power as strongly organised as that of the Church. Secondly the financial embarrassments of many of the princes convinced them beforehand of any doctrine which placed the riches of the clergy at their disposal. Europe presented at that time a remarkable phenomenon—a disproportion between its requirements and its resources—resulting from the recent elevation of a central power in each state. The Church paid the deficit. Several Catholic sovereigns had already obtained leave from the Holy See to exercise a portion of its rights. The princes of Northern Germany, whose independence was threatened by the sovereign of Mexico and Peru, found in the secularisation of the ecclesiastical revenues an equivalent for the wealth of the Indies.

The Reformation had already been several times attempted: in Italy by Arnold of Brescia, by Waldo in France, and by Wycliffe in England. It was in Germany that it was to plant firmly its roots. The German clergy were the richest, and, therefore, the most envied. The episcopal sovereignties of the Empire were given to cadets of great families, who carried the fierce and scandalous manners of the lay world into the ecclesiastical order. But the most violent hatred was that inspired by the Court of Rome—by the Italian clergy—whose fiscal ingenuity was exhausting Germany. From the time of the Roman Empire the eternal opposition between the North and the South was, as it were, personified in Germany and Italy. In the Middle Ages the struggle became organised; strength and dexterity, violence and policy, feudal order and the Catholic hierarchy, here-

ditary succession and the principle of election were engaged in the quarrels of the Empire and the priesthood; the spirit of criticism, on its first appearance, preluded by personal attacks its aggressions on opinion. In the 15th century the Hussites snatched some concessions by the Thirty Years' War. In the 16th, the relations between the Italians and Germans only increased the old antipathy. Continually led into Italy by war, the men of the North were scandalized when they beheld the magnificence of the Popes, and the pomp with which religion loves to surround herself in southern countries. Their ignorance increased their intolerance: they considered as profane all that they did not understand, and when they recrossed the Alps, they filled their fellow-countrymen with horror by describing the *idolatrous festivals of the New Babylon.*

The state of the public mind was well known to Luther. When he was summoned by the Emperor before the Diet of Worms he did not hesitate to appear. His friends reminded him of the fate of John Huss. "I am legally summoned," he replied, "before the Diet of "Worms; I will go thither in the name of the Lord, "should I see conspiring against me as many devils as "there are tiles on the roofs." Many of his followers were determined at least to accompany him, and he entered the town escorted by one hundred knights in full armour. Having refused to retract, in spite of the public entreaty and private solicitations of the princes and electors, he was placed under the ban of the Empire a few days after his departure. By this Charles V. declared himself against the Reformation. He was King of Spain; he needed the Pope in his dealings with Italy, in fact his title of Emperor seemed to constitute him Defender of the Ancient Faith. Similar motives worked upon Francis I.; the new heresy was condemned by the University of Paris. Finally the young King of England, Henry VIII., who prided himself upon his theological proficiency, wrote a book against Luther. But he found ardent defenders in the princes of Germany, especially in the

Elector of Saxony, who seems to have even urged him on. This prince had been Vicar of the Empire in the interregnum, and it was during this period that Luther had ventured on burning the Papal bull. After the Diet of Worms, the Elector believing that matters were not yet ripe, resolved to preserve Luther from the results of his own vehemence. As he was riding through the Thuringian forest on his way home from the diet, some knights in masks carried him off and concealed him in the castle of Wartburg. Confined for nearly a year in this fortress, which appears to command all Germany, the Reformer began his translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue and flooded Europe with his writings.

These theological pamphlets, printed as soon as written, penetrated into the most distant provinces; they were read at night by every fireside, and the invisible preacher was heard all over the Empire. No writer had ever so warmly sympathized with the people. His violence, his buffoonery, his apostrophes to the powers that be, to the bishops, to the Pope, and to the King of England, whom he treated with "*a magnificent contempt for them and for Satan*," charmed and inflamed Germany, and the burlesque part of this popular drama made its effect all the surer. Erasmus and Melanchthon, and most of the other divines forgave Luther his intemperance and coarseness, for the sake of the violence with which he attacked scholastic theology. Princes applauded a reformation by which they were the gainers. Luther, however, while he stirred up the people, forbade the employment of any other arm than that of speech. "It was the 'Word,'" he said, "that whilst I was quietly sleeping or drinking my beer with my dear Melanchthon, so shook the Papacy as never Prince or Emperor had done before."

But in vain he flattered himself that he would be able to restrain passions, which had once been excited, within the bounds of abstract discussion. Very soon more rigorous deductions were made from his principles than he intended. The princes laid their hands upon ecclesiastical property. Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master

of the Teutonic order, secularised a whole state; he married the daughter of the new King of Denmark, and declared himself hereditary Duke of Prussia, to be held as a fief of Poland,—a contagious example in an Empire which was full of ecclesiastical princes who might be tempted by the bait of a similar usurpation (1525).

And yet this was not the greatest danger. The lower classes, the peasants who had so long been slumbering under the weight of feudal oppression, heard the scholars and princes talking of liberty and enfranchisement, and applied to themselves what was not meant for them. The memorial of the poor peasants of Swabia will always remain, in its rude simplicity, a model of courageous moderation.[1] Gradually the perpetual hatred of the poor against the rich woke up blind and furious, as in the *Jacquerie*, but already affecting form and system, as in the time of the Levellers. It became complicated with all the germs of religious democracy which were supposed to have been stifled in the Middle Ages. Lollards, Beghards, numbers of apocalyptical visionaries arose. Their rallying cry was the necessity for a second baptism, their aim a terrible war against established order, against every species of order. War against property was proclaimed,—it was robbery of the poor—and war against science, for it disturbed natural equality and tempted God, who revealed everything to His saints; books and pictures were inventions of the devil. The fiery Carlostadt had already set the example; he ran from church to church, breaking images and overthrowing altars. At Wittenberg, the students burnt their books under the very eyes of Luther. The peasants of Thuringia, imitating those of Swabia, followed the enthusiast Muncer, threw Mulhausen into confusion, called the miners from Mansfeld to take arms, and tried to join their comrades in Franconia (1524). On the Rhine, in Alsace and Lorraine, in the Tyrol, in Carinthia and Styria the people everywhere took up arms.

[1] Die Zwoelf Artikel der Bauerschaft. See the end of Sartorius, Bauerkrieg and the German works of Luther, Wittenberg, 1569, vol. i. fol. 64.

Everywhere they deposed the magistrates, seized the estates of the nobles, made them relinquish their names and dresses, and gave them similar ones to their own. All the princes, Catholic and Protestant, opposed them in arms; they could not stand a moment against the heavy cavalry of the nobles, and they were treated like wild beasts.

§ II. First Struggle against the Reformation.

The secularisation of Prussia, and above all the revolt of the Anabaptists, gave an extremely threatening political character to the Reformation. The two awakened opinions became two parties, two leagues (the Catholic at Ratisbon, 1524, and at Dessau; the Protestant at Torgau, 1526). The Emperor watched for the moment to overwhelm the one by the other, and subjugate at the same time Catholics and Protestants. He thought that it had come when the victory of Pavia placed his rival in his hands. But in the following year a universal league was formed against him in the West. The Pope and all Italy, and Henry VIII., his ally, declared war against him. At the same time the election of Ferdinand to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary, drew the House of Austria into the civil wars of this kingdom, laid bare, so to speak, Germany, and brought her face to face with Soliman.

The progress of Ottoman barbarism which drew nearer every day, complicated alarmingly the affairs of the Empire. Sultan Selim, that rapid conqueror, whose ferocity caused even the Turks to tremble, had just doubled the extent of the dominion of the Osmanlis. In three springs the tiger had seized Syria, Egypt and Arabia. The brilliant cavalry of the Mamelukes had perished at the foot of his throne in the enormous massacre at Cairo. He had sworn to conquer the *red-heads*,[1] and afterwards to turn against the Christians the whole strength of the Mahometan nations. A cancer dispensed him from keeping

[1] The Persians are so called by the Turks.

his oath. "In the year 926 of the Hegira (1521), Sultan Selim passed into the eternal kingdom, leaving the empire of the world to Soliman."[1] Soliman the Magnificent buckled on his scimitar at Stamboul in the same year that Charles V. received the Imperial crown at Aix la Chapelle. He began his reign by the conquests of Belgrade and of Rhodes, on which the power of Mahomet II. had twice been shipwrecked (1521-2). The latter victory secured to the Turks the empire of the sea in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; the former opened Hungary to them. When they invaded that kingdom, in 1526, the young king Louis had not been able to assemble more than 25,000 men against 150,000. The Hungarians, who, according to ancient usage, had struck off the spurs of the bearer of the Virgin's standard,[2] were nevertheless defeated at Mohacz. In the confusion, Louis was killed with his general Paul Tomorri, Bishop of Colocza, and many other bishops who bore arms during the continual dangers of Hungary. Two kings were elected at the same time, Ferdinand of Austria and John Zapoly Waiwode of Transylvania. Zapoly, obtaining no assistance from Poland, applied to the Turks themselves. Ferdinand's ambassador, the gigantic Hobordansc, celebrated for having vanquished, in single combat, one of the most valiant pashas, had dared to brave the Sultan, and Soliman had sworn that if he did not find Ferdinand before Buda, he would seek him out in Vienna. In the month of September 1529, the black line of an innumerable army encircled the capital of Austria. Happily a number of brave men, Germans and Spaniards, had thrown themselves into it. Among them were noticed Don Pedro of Navarre, and the Count of Salm, who, if the Germans may be believed, took Francis I. prisoner at Pavia. After twenty assaults, in as many days, Soliman pronounced an anathema against any Sultan who should again attack that fatal town. He left it in the night, destroying the bridges behind him and

[1] Epitaph of Selim.

[2] Istuanfi, p. 124—7.

killing the prisoners, and on the 5th day he had returned to Buda. His pride found some consolation in crowning Zapoly, who at the same time beheld from the windows of the citadel of Pesth 10,000 Hungarians carried off by the Tartars in Soliman's service, who had been surprised in the celebration of Christmas festivities, and whom the Tartars drove before them like sheep.[1] What was Germany doing while the Turks were crossing all the old border lines, and Soliman was scattering his Tartars beyond Vienna? She was disputing about transubstantiation and freewill. Her most illustrious warriors were sitting in the Diet and interrogating doctors. Such was the phlegmatic character of this great nation, and such was its confidence in its strength and its weight.

The war with the Turks and that with the French, the siege of Rome and the defence of Vienna occupied Charles V. and his brother so fully that the Protestants obtained tolerance until the approaching council. But after the Peace of Cambray, Charles V.—now that France was humbled, Italy enslaved, and Soliman repulsed—determined to sit in judgment in the great case of the Reformation. The two parties confronted each other at Augsburg. The followers of Luther, designated by the general name of *Protestants*, since they *protested* against the decree forbidding innovations (at Spire, 1529), wished to be distinguished from all the other enemies of Rome, whose excesses would have damaged their cause; from the republican Zwinglians of Switzerland, odious both to princes and nobles; and above all, from the Anabaptists, proscribed as enemies of order and society. Their confession, softened by the learned and conciliatory Melanchthon, who threw himself with tears in his eyes between the two parties, was nevertheless rejected as heretical. They were summoned to renounce their errors on pain of being placed under the ban of the Empire (Augsburg, 1530). Charles V. seemed even ready to use violence, and for a short time ordered the gates of

[1] Istuanfi.

Augsburg to be closed. The Diet had scarcely been dissolved when the Protestant princes assembled at Smalkald and there concluded a defensive league by means of which they were to form a single body (1531). They protested against the election of Ferdinand to the dignity of King of the Romans. They settled their contingents; they applied to the Kings of France, England and Denmark, and they held themselves ready for battle.

The Turks seemed charged with the task of again bringing the Germans together. The Emperor heard that Soliman had just entered Hungary at the head of 300,000 men, while the pirate Khair-Eddyn (Barbarossa) who had become Capitan Pasha, was joining the Kingdom of Tunis to that of Algiers, and was keeping the whole of the Mediterranean in alarm. He hastened to offer to the Protestants to grant all their demands—tolerance, the preservation of secularised possessions until the approaching council, and admission into the Imperial Chamber.

While this negotiation was pending, Soliman was stopped for a month by the Dalmatian Juritzi before a ruined fort. He attempted to make up for the time he had lost by traversing the impracticable roads of Styria, where snow and ice had already blocked the mountains, but the formidable aspect of Charles V.'s army decided him on retiring. Germany, reunited by the promises of the Emperor, had made enormous efforts. Italian, Flemish, Burgundian, Bohemian, and Hungarian troops, joining with those of the Empire, had carried his army to 90,000 foot and 30,000 horse, of whom a great number were cased in steel.[1] Never had an army been so drawn from all Europe since that of Godfrey of Bouillon. The light cavalry of the Turks was surrounded and cut to pieces. The Sultan was not reassured until leaving the narrow gorges of the Murr and the Drave, he re-entered the plain of Waradin.

Francis I. and Soliman took turns in giving occupation

[1] P. Jovius, an ocular witness.

to Charles V. The Sultan, after invading Persia, went to be crowned at Bagdad; and the Emperor was beginning to breathe (see the expedition to Tunis in the preceding chapter), when the King of France attacked him by attacking his ally, Savoy. This new war postponed for twelve years the final rupture between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany. Nevertheless, the interval did not amount to a peace. In the first place Anabaptism broke out again in Munster under a more alarming form. From the same anarchical disturbances as before, a strange government emerged, a monstrous mixture of demagogy and tyranny. The Anabaptists of Munster followed exclusively the Old Testament: as Jesus Christ was of the race of David, His kingdom was bound to assume the Judaic form. They recognised two prophets sent by God: David, and John of Leyden, their chief; and two prophets sent by the devil: the Pope and Luther. John of Leyden was a tailor's apprentice, a brave and cruel young man whom they had taken for their king, and who was to spread the kingdom of Christ all over the world. The princes prevented him.

The Catholics and Protestants, united for an instant against the Anabaptists, became afterwards only the more bitter against each other. A general council was constantly talked of: but neither party seriously wished for it. The Pope feared it, the Protestants rejected it beforehand. The council (assembled at Trent in 1545) might draw together the links of the Catholic hierarchy, but could never restore the unity of the Church. The question could be decided only by arms. Already the Protestants had driven the Austrians out of Wirtemberg. They dispossessed Henry of Brunswick, who was executing in his own interest the decrees of the Imperial Chamber. They encouraged the Archbishop of Cologne to imitate the example of Albert of Brandenburg, a step which would have given them the majority in the Council of Electors.

When the war with France had ended, Charles V. and his brother treated with the Turks and united themselves closely with the Pope to destroy at once the religious and

political liberties of Germany. The Lutherans, warned by the imprudence of Paul III., who proclaimed the war as a crusade, rose up under the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse to the number of 80,000. Abandoned by France, England and Denmark, who had excited them to war, separated from the Swiss by their horror of the *blasphemies of Zwinglius*, they would have been sufficiently strong if they had remained united, but while they were pressing hard Charles V., who lay entrenched behind the cannons of Ingoldstadt, young Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who had secretly been treating with him, betrayed the Protestant cause and invaded the states of his relative the Elector. Charles V. had only to overpower the scattered members of the league. As soon as the deaths of Henry VIII. and Francis I. (28th January and 31st March, 1547) had deprived the Protestants of all hope of assistance, he marched against the Elector of Saxony and defeated him at Muhlberg (24th of April).

The two brothers abused their victory. Charles V. caused the Elector to be condemned to death by a council of Spanish officers, presided over by the Duke of Alva, and wrested from him the cession of his electorate, which he transferred to Maurice. He retained in prison the Landgrave of Hesse, having deceived him by a cowardly stratagem, and proved that he had conquered neither for the sake of the Catholic faith nor for that of the constitution of the Empire. Ferdinand imitated his brother. From 1545 he had declared himself a feudatory of Soliman for the Kingdom of Hungary, reserving his whole strength for the struggle against Bohemia and Germany. He had re-established the Archbishopric of Prague, which had in old times been so formidable to the Hussites, and had declared himself hereditary sovereign of Bohemia. In 1547 he endeavoured without the authorisation of the states to raise an army to attack the Lutherans of Saxony who were allies of the Bohemians. This army was indeed raised, but it turned its arms against the prince who had violated his oath. The Bohemians

united in defence of their constitution and *their mother tongue*. The battle of Muhlberg left them at the mercy of Ferdinand, who annulled their privileges.

Hungary had equal reason to complain of him. The fatal struggle between Ferdinand and Zapoly had opened this kingdom to the Turks. All the national party, all who wished neither to be mastered by the Turks nor by the Austrians, had gathered round the Cardinal George Martinuzzi (Uthuysenitch) the guardian of the young son of Zapoly. This extraordinary man, who at twenty was still gaining his bread by supplying with wood the fires in the royal palace at Buda, had become the real ruler of Transylvania. On the Queen-mother's appealing to the Turks he treated with Ferdinand, who at least was a Christian. He caused the war-cry to be raised in every direction,[1] assembled in a few days 70,000 men and carried at the head of his heiduques the town of Lippe, which the Austrians had not been able to recover from the infidels. These successes, this popularity alarmed the brother of Charles V. Martinuzzi had authorised the Transylvanians to restrain by force the license of the German soldiers. Ferdinand caused his assassination: but this crime cost him Transylvania. Zapoly's son was reinstated there and the Austrians preserved their possessions in Hungary only by paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte.

Meanwhile, Charles V. oppressed Germany and threatened Europe. On the one hand he excepted from the alliance which he proposed to the Swiss, Basle, Zurich and Schaffhausen, which, he said, belonged to the Empire. On the other, he placed under the ban Albert of Brandenburg, who had now become feudatory of the King of Poland.[2] He offended even Ferdinand and separated the interests of the two branches of the House

[1] Béchet, *Histoire de Martinusius*, p.324. A man on horseback in full armour and a man on foot holding a bloody sword travelled all over the country shouting the war-cry according to the ancient custom of Transylvania.

[2] Sleidan, i. xxi.

of Austria by endeavouring to transfer from his brother to his son the succession to the Empire. He had introduced the Inquisition into the Low Countries. In Germany he wanted to impose on Catholic and Protestant his *Inhalt*, or Interim, a conciliatory arrangement which united them only on one point—hatred of the Emperor. The Interim was compared with the Institutions of Henry VIII., and not without reason. The Emperor also assumed papal powers: when Maurice of Saxony, the Landgrave's son-in-law, demanded his father-in-law's liberty, which he had sworn to preserve, Charles V. declared that he released him from his oath. He carried everywhere in his train the Landgrave and the venerable Elector of Saxony, as if triumphing in their persons over the liberty of Germany. That ancient country beheld for the first time strangers violating her territory in the name of the Emperor; it was overrun in every direction by Italian mercenaries and fierce Spaniards who laid under contribution Catholics and Protestants, friends and enemies.

To overthrow this unjust power, which seemed to be unassailable, was the work of young Maurice, the principal instrument of the victory of Charles V. The latter had only transferred to a more skilful prince the electorate of Saxony and the leadership of the German Protestants. While Maurice found himself the plaything of the Emperor who detained his father-in-law, numbers of little books and caricatures, in which he was called apostate, traitor and scourge of his country, circulated in Germany.[1] Maurice concealed his plans with profound dissimulation. First he was obliged to raise an army without alarming the Emperor; to do this, he undertook the task of forcing Magdeburg to submit to the Interim, and instead of attacking the town joined its troops to his own. At the same time he treated secretly with the King of France. The Emperor having again refused to set the Landgrave at liberty received simul-

[1] Sleidan, i., xxiii.

taneously two manifestoes, one from Maurice in the name of Germany—pillaged by the Spaniards and insulted in the official history of Louis d'Avila,[1] the other. from the King of France, Henri II., who called himself the Protector of the Princes of the Empire, and who headed his manifesto with a cap of liberty between two daggers.[2] While the French took possession of the Three Bishoprics Maurice advanced by long marches on Innspruck (1552). The old Emperor, who was at that time ill, and without troops, set out at night in pouring rain and had himself carried towards the mountains of Carinthia. If Maurice had not been stopped by a mutiny, Charles V. would have fallen into the hands of his enemy. He was forced to submit. The Emperor concluded with the Protestants the truce of Passau, and the ill-success of the war which he sustained against France changed this truce into a definitive peace (Augsburg, 1555). The Protestants exercised freely their religion, preserved the ecclesiastical possessions which belonged to them before 1552, and were permitted to sit in the Imperial Chamber. This was the first victory of religious liberty. The spirit of free inquiry, having thus gained a legal recognition, henceforth pursued its determined course in spite of obstacles which could not stop it. Farther on we shall have to notice the germs of war which were concealed in this peace.

The Emperor, abandoned by fortune, *who loves not the old*,[3] abandoned the Empire to his brother and his kingdoms to his son, and spent the remainder of his days in the seclusion of San Yuste. The funeral which he is said, though falsely, to have caused to be solemnized during his lifetime would only have been too faithful an image of the eclipsed glory which he survived.

[1] Idem, ix., xxiv.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Expression used by Charles V. himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

§ I. England and Scotland, 1527—1547.

The northern Teutonic States, England, Sweden and Denmark, followed the example of Germany; but while they separated themselves from the Papacy, these three states, governed by the aristocratic spirit, preserved in part the Catholic hierarchy.

The revolution effected by Henry VIII. must not be confounded with the national Reformation in England. The former only separated England from Rome and confiscated the power and riches of the Church to the profit of the Crown. Rather political than religious, the work of the King and the aristocracy, it was the finishing stroke of the absolute power with which for the last half-century the English had been investing the Crown, and which was the result of their hatred of the anarchy of the Roses. This official reform had nothing in common with that which was going on at the same time among the lower classes by means of the spontaneous enthusiasm excited by the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists who came over sea from Germany, the Low Countries and Geneva. The latter prevailed from the first in Scotland, and in the end conquered the former in England.

The occasion for this royal and aristocratic reformation seemed a trifling one: it was in appearance only the

ephemeral passion of Henry VIII. for Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to Queen Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V. After a union of twenty years the King remembered that the Queen had been for a few months the wife of his brother. It was, in fact, the moment when the victory of Pavia, disturbing the balance of power in the West, alarmed Henry VIII. as to the success of his ally the Emperor; he passed over to the side of Francis I. and asked Clement VII. for a divorce from his Spanish queen. The Pope, threatened by Charles V., tried in every way to gain time; after having delegated the judgment of the case to his legates, he summoned it to Rome. The English were not more favourable to the divorce; besides the interest inspired by Catherine they feared lest a rupture with the Emperor should disturb their trade with the Low Countries. They refused to attend the French markets which the King wanted to substitute for the Flemish. Some bolder counsellors, however, who had succeeded the Cardinal-legate Wolsey,—Cromwell, the secretary of state, and Cranmer, a Cambridge divine, whom Henry made Archbishop of Canterbury,—overcame his scruples by promising to purchase the approbation of the principal European universities. At length the King's patience gave way, and he resolved to break with the Papacy. The English clergy were charged with having broken the law by recognising the disgraced minister as legate. Their deputies in Convocation obtained pardon only by making the King a present of 100,000*l.* and by acknowledging him as the protector and supreme head of the English Church. On the 30th of March, 1534, this decree, passed as a Bill in both Houses of Parliament, was sanctioned by the King, and all appeal to Rome forbidden. On the 23rd of the same month Clement VIII. decided against the divorce by the almost unanimous advice of his cardinals. England was thus separated from the Holy See.

This change, which seemed to end the revolution, was only its beginning. In the first place the King declared all ecclesiastical power suspended; the bishops were

ordered to present petitions in a month's time for the restitution of their authority. The monasteries were suppressed and their revenues confiscated to the Crown. But the King soon dissipated this wealth; he is said to have rewarded one of his cooks for a good dish with an estate. Surprise and indignation prevailed throughout the country. The poor no longer found relief at the doors of the monasteries. The nobles and country gentlemen declared that if the convents were to be suppressed their estates could not fall to the Crown, but ought to return to the representatives of their founders. The inhabitants of the five northern counties flew to arms and marched on London to accomplish what they called the *pilgrimage of grace:* but recourse was had to negotiation; many promises were made, and when the insurgents dispersed they were hanged by hundreds.

The Protestants who crowded at this time into England, thinking that they would settle there under the favour of this reformation, were soon taught by Henry VIII. that they were grossly deceiving themselves. For nothing on earth would he have given up the title of Defender of the Faith which he had earned by his book against Luther. He maintained, therefore, the more important parts of the ancient faith by his Bill of the Six Articles, and persecuted both parties with impartial intolerance. In 1540 Protestants and Catholics were dragged from the Tower to Smithfield on the same hurdle, the former were burnt as heretics, the latter hanged as traitors for having denied the King's supremacy.

The King having taken the place of the Pope in every respect, solemnly proclaimed his own political and religious infallibility: he made the Parliament enact that his proclamations should have the same value as of bills passed by the two chambers. The most alarming feature was that he himself believed in his infallibility and considered all his passionate caprices sacred; of his six wives, two were repudiated and two beheaded, on the pretext of adultery; the sixth nearly shared their fate for professing Protestant opinions. He treated his family

with sanguinary and quarrelsome despotism, and he treated the whole nation as he treated his family. He commanded one translation of the Bible to be made and forbade every other, yet, with the exception of heads of families, every person who expounded it was subject to a month's imprisonment. He wrote himself two books for the religious instruction of the people ("The Institution" and "The Erudition of a Christian Man") and actually disputed in person against innovators. A schoolmaster named Lambert, accused of having denied the Real Presence, appealed from the Metropolitan to the Head of the Church; the King argued against him, and after disputing for five hours, asked him whether he would yield or die. Lambert chose death and he was burnt by a slow fire. A still stranger scene was the judgment of St. Thomas Becket, who died in 1170. He was cited to appear at Westminster to answer the charge of treason, and after the ordinary thirty days' delay was condemned in default; his relics were burnt, and his property, that is to say his shrine and the offerings which adorned it, were confiscated for the benefit of the Crown.

Henry VIII. would have liked to extend his religious tyranny to Scotland: but the French party who prevailed there was attached to the Catholic religion, and the whole nation held the English yoke in horror. Speaking of the King of England, Sir George Douglas wrote: "Even the little boys would throw stones at him, the women would break their distaffs. The whole nation would die rather than receive him; most of the nobles and the whole of the clergy are against him."

The young Queen of Scots (Mary) remained under the charge of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, son of the one we have already mentioned; the nobles appointed him to be her guardian although the will of the late King had designated Cardinal Beaton as Regent; and Scotland was comprehended in the treaty concluded between England and France in 1546 (see Chap. VIII.). The King of England died a year afterwords.

During the latter years of his reign, Henry, having spent the prodigious sums which he had gained by the suppression of the monasteries, obtained fresh resources from the servility of his Parliament. He had disciplined it betimes, and on the least resistance he reprimanded "those varlets, the commons." As early as 1543, that is, four years afterwards, he asked for an enormous subsidy. He dragged further sums out of it on every pretext,—tax, gift, loan, alteration of the currency. At last the Parliament, sanctioning bankruptcy, abandoned to him all that he had borrowed since the thirty-first year of his reign. It was pretended that before the twenty-sixth year the exchequer's receipts had surpassed the amount of all the taxes imposed by his predecessors, and that before his death the sum had more than doubled.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that Wales was placed under the regular administrative jurisdiction of England and that some civil order was established in Ireland. Henry VIII.'s innovations were ill-received in that island both by the English colonists and the natives. The government of the country had been generally delegated to the great nobles of Ireland, to the Earls of Kildare or Ossory, the chiefs of the rival families of Fitzgerald and Butler. Kildare's young son, believing his father to have been killed in London, presented himself before the Irish Council, and declared war in his own name on Henry VIII. King of England; the wise counsels of the Archbishop of Armagh could not prevail over the song of an Irish bard, who in the national language excited the hero to avenge his father's blood. His courage was no match for English discipline: he stipulated for a free pardon for himself and his followers and was beheaded in London. After this and more formidable revolts, peace was at last restored; the Irish chiefs themselves were forced to accept peerages from the King as the sign of their subjection. O'Neil, the most celebrated of them all, will appear later under the name of the Earl of Tyrone.

§ II. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 1515—1560.

While Protestant Germany sought in political liberty a guarantee for its religious independence, Denmark and Sweden confirmed a political revolution by adopting the Reformation.

Christian II. had equally irritated the Danish nobility, against which he protected the peasantry, Sweden which he deluged with blood (1520), and the Hanse Towns against which he had closed the Danish ports by his prohibitions (1517). He was soon punished both for the good and the evil which he had done. Governed by the German priest Slagheck, formerly a barber, and by the daughter of a Dutch innkeeper, he followed but with less skill the path which had led the other princes of Europe to absolute power. He wanted to crush his own nobles and to conquer Sweden. He had hired troops in Germany, Poland and Scotland; he had obtained 4,000 men from Francis I. A battle gave him the mastery of Sweden, which was torn to pieces by the quarrel between the young Sten-Stur, the *administrator* of the kingdom, and Gustave Troll, the Archbishop of Upsala. He tried by an ecclesiastical commission all the bishops and senators who had voted for the deposition of Troll. In one day they were beheaded and burnt at Stockholm in the midst of a nation in tears. The gallows and the scaffold rose in every province of Sweden through which Christian passed. He insulted the vanquished. He declared himself hereditary king, and proclaimed that he made no knights in Sweden, as he owed the country entirely to his own sword.

The young Gustavus Vasa however, a nephew of the old King Charles Canutson, succeeded in escaping from the prison in which he was detained by Christian. The men of Lubeck, regarding the latter as the brother-in-law of Charles V., who was the sovereign of their

enemies the Dutch; and who knew that Christian had asked the Emperor to bestow their town upon him, gave Gustavus Vasa a passage into Sweden. Chased by the Danes, Gustavus fled from one shelter to another, and was on one occasion touched by the lances of those who sought him while hidden in a haycock. The hiding-places of the Liberator are still shown at Fahlun and Ornay. He reached Dalecarlia, the home of those hardy and free peasants who have always been the first to attempt revolutions in Sweden. He mixed with the Dalecarlians of Copperberg (a country of copper mines), adopted their costume and entered the service of one of them. At length in the Christmas festivities of 1521, seizing the occasion of the crowd collected by the feast-day, he harangued them in the great plain of Mora. They remarked with satisfaction that the north wind blew during all the time he spoke; two hundred of them followed him; their example drew the whole nation, and at the end of a few months the only possessions which the Danes retained in Sweden were Abo, Calmar, and Stockholm.

Christian had chosen precisely this critical moment for attempting in Denmark a revolution capable of shaking the steadiest throne. He published two codes which excited against him the two most powerful orders in that kingdom—the clergy and the nobility. He suppressed the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops, forbade the plunder of wrecks, deprived the nobles of the right to sell their peasants, and permitted the ill-used peasant to leave his lord's estate. The protection of the peasantry, which had made the Stures popular in Sweden, effected the ruin of the King in Denmark. The nobles and the bishops called to the throne his uncle, Frederick Duke of Holstein. Thus Christian lost both Denmark and Sweden at the same time.

After having delivered Sweden from the foreigner, Gustavus wrested her from the bishops. He deprived the clergy of their tithes and jurisdiction, encouraged the nobles to claim all the ecclesiastical estates over

which they had any right; finally he took from the bishops their castles and strong places. By the suppression of appeals to Rome, the Swedish Church became independent of the Papacy while retaining the hierarchy and most of the ceremonies of the Catholic Church (1529). It is said that the number of estates or farms seized by the King amounted to 13,000. Having thus diminished the chief power of the aristocracy in the persons of the bishops, he was able to manage the nobles more easily: he laid taxes without opposition on their estates, and he caused the crown to be declared hereditary in the House of Vasa.

The Danish bishops, although they had contributed to the Revolution, were not more fortunate than the Swedish. It turned entirely to the advantage of the nobles, who exacted from Frederick I. the right of life and death over their peasants. Lutheranism was preached by command of the King; the States of Odensee (1527) decreed liberty of conscience, abolished the celibacy of the priests and severed every link between the clergy of Denmark and the see of Rome.

The more distant peoples of the North, less accessible to new ideas, did not accept this religious revolution without resistance. The Dalecarlians were armed by their clergy against the King whom they themselves had set up. The Norwegians and the Icelanders considered the introduction of Protestantism only as a new instance of tyranny on the part of the Danes. Christian II., who had taken refuge in the Low Countries, thought that he might turn this disposition to account. This man, who on one occasion had hunted a bishop with dogs, now associated his cause with that of the Catholic religion. With the help of several princes of Germany, of Charles V., and of some Dutch merchants, he equipped a fleet, landed in Norway, and thence penetrated into Sweden. The Hanse Towns took up arms against the Dutch for supporting Christian. Repulsed and forced to shut himself up in Opslo, he surrendered to the Danes who promised him liberty, but kept him a prisoner for

twenty-nine years in the dungeon of Saenderbourg, with a dwarf for his sole companion.

On the death of Frederick I. (1534) the bishops made an effort to postpone their imminent ruin. They attempted to place on the throne the King's younger son, who was only eight years old, and who was not yet imbued with Protestant ideas like his elder brother Christian III.; they put forward that this child, who was born in Denmark, "had spoken from his cradle the language of the country," while his brother was considered as a German. This struggle between the clergy and the nobles, between the Catholic faith and the new doctrines, of Danish patriotism against foreign influence, encouraged the ambition of Lubeck. That republic had profited little by the downfall of Christian II. Frederick had created trading-guilds, Gustavus favoured the English. The democratic administration which had replaced the ancient oligarchy at Lubeck was animated more by the spirit of conquest than by that of commerce. Its new leaders, the Burgomaster Wullenwever and the Commandant Meyer, formerly a locksmith, conceived the project of repeating in a kingdom the revolution which they had effected in a town. They resolved to conquer and dismember Denmark. They confided the management of this revolutionary war to an illustrious adventurer, Count Christopher, of Oldenburg, who had distinguished himself against the Turks; he had nothing but his name and his sword, but he consoled himself, they say, for his poverty by reading Homer in the original. He penetrated into Denmark by stirring up the lower classes in the name of Christian II., a magic name which always rallied the Catholics and the peasantry. All was deception in this Machiavellian war, the republicans of Lubeck excited the people with the name of Christian II. and thought only of themselves; their general Christopher acted neither for the sake of Christian nor of Lubeck, but in his own interests. The calamities of this revolution were so great that the *Count's war* has remained a proverbial expression in Denmark. The general consterna-

tion caused the nation to rally round Christian III. The senate which had retreated into Jutland, the only province which remained true to it, called him from his refuge in Holstein: Gustavus sent him assistance. The young King besieged Lubeck and forced her to recall her troops. The peasants, beaten in every direction, lost all hope of liberty. Christian III. entered Copenhagen after a long siege. The senate arrested the bishops, stripped them of their estates and substituted for them superintendents charged with the propagation of the *evangelical religion*. Thus the absolute power of the nobles was established by the defeat of the clergy and peasantry. Christian III. declared the monarchy *elective*, and promised to consult the Grand Master of the kingdom, the Chancellor and the Marshal, who were to receive all plaints against the King. The Danish nobility decided that Norway was in future to be only a province. Protestantism was established there. The powerful Archbishopric of Drontheim having become a simple bishopric, the old spirit of resistance ceased to manifest itself, with the exception of the troubles excited at Bergen by the tyranny of the Hanseatic merchants, and the revolt of the peasants who were forced to work in the mines under the orders of German miners.

Poor Iceland amidst its snows and volcanoes endeavoured also to resist the new faith which was being imposed on her. The Icelanders had the same repugnance for Danish domination as the Danes had for German influence. The Bishops Augmund and Arneson resisted at the head of their flocks until the Danes beheaded the latter. Arneson was not esteemed for the purity of his life, but he was lamented as the man of the people and poet of the nation; it is he who in 1528 introduced printing into this remote island. The revolution, both political and religious, was thus firmly established throughout Denmark in spite of a new attempt on the part of Charles V. in favour of the Elector Palatine, the husband of his niece, who was a daughter of Christian II. At length Christian III.'s alliance with

the Protestants of Germany and Francis I. decided the Emperor on recognising him. He obtained for his subjects in the Low Countries permission to navigate the Baltic, a last blow to the Hanseatic League from which it never recovered.

CHAPTER IX.

CALVIN.

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND THE LOW COUNTRIES UP TO THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

1555—1572.

IN its first phase the Reformation had scarcely done more than pull down, in its second it endeavoured to build up. At the outset it had compromised with the civil authority; the Lutheran Reformation had been in

§ I. If we described separately the Histories of Spain and the Low Countries, of France, England and Scotland in the latter half of the 16th century, we should be condemned to continual repetitions. We will, however, give for the assistance of the student a separate table of these different histories. Many dates and details will be found in it which could not be admitted into a general picture of the period.

REVOLUTIONS AND WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1556—1669.

Geographical situation of the Low Countries. Belgian population (grandees, nobles, burghers, manufacturers); Batavian population (burghers, traders or sailors). Differences in their constitutions and privileges. Their commercial industry in the latter centuries of the Middle Ages. Their spirit of resistance encouraged by the natural features of a country covered with populous towns and intersected by canals.—*Condition of the Low Countries after the death of Charles the Bold*, 1477. Mary of Burgundy marries Maximilian of Austria, 1481. On the death of this princess the States of Flanders assume the guardianship of her children. Wars of Maxi-

many respects the work of the princes to whom it made the Church subservient. The lower classes wanted a reformation of their own; they obtained one from John

milian against France, 1488. Maximilian a prisoner to his own subjects at Bruges. Popular administration of Philip the Fair and of Charles V. Charles completes the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands by the union of Utrecht and Over Yssel, 1527, of Groningen and of Guelderland, 1543; he places them under the protection of the Empire, and proclaims their indissolubility, 1548-9. Towards the end of his reign he persecutes the Protestants.—Under Charles V., a Flemish prince, Flanders ruled over Spain, Italy, and in Germany; Philip II., a Castilian prince, undertakes to place them under the laws and customs of Spain.—One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Revolution of the Low Countries, is that the insurgents offer, in vain, to submit themselves to France, to the German branch of the House of Austria and to England, and determine at last, for want of a sovereign, to remain a Republic. Elizabeth refuses them, because she thinks that they will resist Spain better if they are independent; she does not foresee that Holland is destined to anticipate England in the Empire of the Seas, and the commerce of the world.—Division; (1) 1556—1567, Troubles which prepare the way for Civil War. (2) 1568—1579, Civil War before the *Union of Utrecht*. (3) 1579—1609, continuation of the Civil War until the peace; the *Union of Utrecht* invests the Northern insurgents with the character of a nation; victory is assured to them by the diversion of the energies of Spain through the troubles of France.

(1) 1556—1567. 1556, Accession of Philip II. New bishoprics, persecution of the Protestants, Inquisition, occupation by the Spanish troops. Margaret of Parma, regent; the ministry of Granvelle. Chiefs of the malcontents: William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the Counts of Egmont and Horn.—1563, Granvelle recalled.—1566, the Confederation of Breda. The Beggars ("Gueux"). (2) 1567—1568, tyranny of the Duke of Alva, *Council of Troubles*. Executions, confiscations. Flight of the Prince of Orange and 100,000 Protestants. "Beggars" of the sea, and "Beggars" of the woods.

(2) 1568—1569, Civil War. Attempts of the Prince of Orange and his brother. Execution of the Counts of Egmont and Horn. 1569, the new taxes extend the insurrection, 1572. Capture of Brill by the *Beggars of the Sea*. Insurrection of Zealand and of Holland; Union of Dordrecht. Siege of Haarlem.—1574—1576, Moderation of Requesens, successor of the Duke of Alva. Defeat, and death at Mook, of Louis and Henry of Nassau. Invasion of Holland and Zealand. Siege of Leyden. 1576, Sack of Antwerp. Pacification of Ghent; union of the Belgian and Batavian provinces of 1577—1578; Don Juan of Austria. His crafty conduct. The Archduke

Calvin, a French Protestant who had taken refuge in Geneva. The first Reformation subdued Northern Germany, the second disturbed France, the Low Countries,

Mathias called into the Low Countries.—The Prince of Parma succeeds Don Juan, 1579.

(3) 1579—1609. 1577, *Union of Utrecht.* Foundation of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. 1580, the Duke of Anjou invited by the Republic. 1581, Declaration of Independence. Perfidy and departure of the Duke of Anjou. 1584, William of Orange Assassinated.—Success of the Prince of Parma; Siege of Antwerp, 1585, 1586. 1586, Treaty of the United Provinces with Elizabeth; blunders and treachery of Leicester. [1588, Philip II. attacks England in vain. 1591—1598, he divides his forces, by taking part in the Civil War in France.] 1592, Death of the Prince of Parma. 1588—1609, success of Maurice, son of William the Silent. 1595, League of Henri IV. with the United Provinces against Spain. 1598 (Peace of Vervins), Marriage of the Archduke Albert, governor of the Low Countries with Clara Isabella, daughter of Philip II., to whom he transfers the sovereignty of the Low Countries. Death of Philip II. Philip III. The Spaniards arm their allies in Germany against themselves. 1600, the United States assume the offensive. Siege and Battle of Nieuport. 1601—1604, Siege of Ostend. 1606, skilful Campaign of Spinola. 1607—1609, Peace Negotiations. Naval Victory of Gibraltar. 1609, Truce of twelve years, concluded by the mediation of Henri IV.

§ II. Internal State of France from the Middle of the 15th Century, 1450—1559.—Troubles of Religion.—Civil and Foreign Wars, 1559—1610.

The power of the Crown increased by Charles VII. and by Louis XI., after the wars with the English, becomes absolute in the hands of their four successors, falls to pieces in the religious wars until again restored by Henri IV., and by Richelieu: it triumphs and culminates under Louis XIV.—Rapid development of the national wealth, after the disturbed periods: under Louis XII., Henry IV., and Louis XIV.—Increase of expenses, chiefly caused by the increase of the military forces.—*Increase of the Military Forces.* Charles VII., one thousand seven hundred men-at-arms, *free archers* (Franc-archers). Francis I., three thousand *lances*, six thousand light horse, and often from twelve to fifteen thousand Swiss.—Louis XI substituted the mercenary infantry of the Swiss for the national infantry of the free archers; Francis I. substitutes the Landsknechts for the Swiss, and when the Landsknechts are destroyed at Pavia he forms a national infantry under the name of the *Provincial Legions* [1534].—

England and Scotland. In every direction it met with an obstinate enemy in the power of Spain, which, however, it overcame everywhere.

Increase of the Taxes. Charles VII., less than two millions. Louis XI., five millions.—Francis I. nearly nine millions (Expenses: nine millions and a half). The resources increase considerably, but not in proportion to the expenses.—*Means and Resources.* In order to defray these expenses the kings do not assemble the States-General after 1484 [assembled once at Tours, in 1506, and only to annul the Treaty of Blois]. They substitute for them the assemblies of notables 1526, 1558, and more often raise money by means of decrees (ordonnances) which they make the Parliament of Paris register.—The Parliament of Paris is weakened under Charles VII. and Louis XI. by the creation of the Parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon [1451, 1462, 1477]; under Louis XII., by that of the Parliaments of Rouen and Aix [1499, 1501]. It is forbidden by Francis I. to interfere in political affairs [1527]. At the same time its venality and the multiplication of offices diminish its influence.—Four means of obtaining money: increased taxes, loans, the alienation of royal lands, sale of financial and judicial appointments.—Louis XII., *the Father of the People*, at first diminishes the taxation, and sells the financial appointments [1499]; but he is forced, towards the end of his reign, to increase the taxation, to borrow, and to alienate the royal lands [1511, 1514]. The royal power in the reign of Francis I. reaches a higher point than it attained until the advent of Richelieu.—1515, Concordat.—1539, Decree restraining ecclesiastical jurisdiction.—Police organised.—1517, Decree regulating field sports.—New taxes [particularly in 1523]. Sale and multiplication of the judicial appointments [1515, 1522, 1544]. First perpetual annuities on the Hôtel de Ville. 1532, 1544, Alienation of the royal lands. Royal lottery.—Henry II. forced to abolish the salt tax in the provinces on the other side of the Loire, taxes the churches, alienates the Royal lands [1552, 1559], creates a great number of tribunals [1552, 1555, 1559], doubles all the appointments in Parliament, all the financial appointments [1553] and borrows from the towns. Debt of forty-three millions. The expenses exceed the receipts by two and a half millions of francs a year.—The progress of Calvinism is a cause of revolution even more active that the confusion of the finances. 1535, first persecutions. 1545, massacre of the Vaudois. 1551, Edict of Châteaubriant. 1552, Edict of the Parliament against field-preachers. Establishment of the Inquisition. 1558, the Protestants make a public procession in Paris. 1559, the King himself seizes several councillors in Parliament.

Religious Troubles. 1*st Period.*—1559—1570, religious and financial crisis; rivalry for power between the Guises, the Bourbons

When Calvin left Nérac for Geneva (1535) he found the town delivered from its Bishop and the Dukes of Savoy, but kept in the most violent fermentation by the

and Catherine de Medicis. (2) 1570—1577, struggle between the two religions; it is less mixed at this period with political interests. (3) 1577—1594, anarchical faction of the League. Philip II. covets the crown of France. The French monarchy is on the point of being dissolved or being made dependent on Spain. Henri IV. saves it from this double danger. (4) 1594—1610, Henri restores the unity of France, renders her again formidable, and is preparing to complete the abasement of the House of Austria, when he is assassinated.

(1) Francis II. 1560. The Guises govern by the influence of their niece Mary Stuart over the young King. Their secret understanding with Philip II. Opposition of the Bourbons (the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé), supported by the Châtillons (Coligni and Dandelot), the inferior nobility, and the Protestants. The vacillation of Catherine de Medicis and moderation of L'Hôpital are equally useless. Embarrassment of the Guises. They take back the alienated lands, but are obliged to withdraw the tax which maintained fifty thousand men, that is to say to disarm the government at the very moment the revolution is breaking out.—Conspiracy of Amboise. L'Hôpital, Chancellor. He mitigates the edict of Châteaubriant by that of Romorantin. Arrest of the Prince of Condé. 1560—1574, Charles IX. Regency of Catherine de Medicis. States-General of Orleans. Conference of Poissy. Edict of January (favourable to the Protestants). Guise, profiting by the indignation of the Catholics, again seizes, as leader of a party, the power which he lost, as minister, on the death of Francis II.; the opposite party loses its unity by the abjuration of the King of Navarre, and the defection of Montmorency. Massacre of Vassi.—*First Civil War*, 1562—1563.—*Strength of the Two Parties.* The Court predominates in the Isle of France, Picardy, Champagne, Brittany, Burgundy, and Guyenne. The Protestants predominate in the West, and in the South, especially in the towns of Rouen, Orleans, Blois, Tours, Angers, Le Mans, Poitiers, Bourges, Angoulême, La Rochelle, Montauban, and Lyons. Thus scattered, they cannot easily join with the Protestants in Germany and the Low Countries. The Catholics receive help from Philip II., from the Pope and the Dukes of Savoy, Ferrara, Mantua, and Tuscany. They hire German troops; but the Empire favours the Protestants, in the hope that they will give up the Three Bishoprics, as they gave up Havre to the English. The Protestants receive troops from the Queen of England, the Landgrave of Hesse, above all from the *Elector Palatine.*—1562, the Siege of Rouen, Battle of Dreux.—1563, Assassination of Guise. The Queen now fears only

plots of the *Mamelus* (serviles), and by the continued insults of the *Confrérie de la Cuillère* (Brethren of the Spoon). He became its apostle and legislator (1541

the Protestants and concludes with them the Treaty of Amboise.—1563—1567, the Catholics of Guyenne and Languedoc form, under the guidance of the Parliament of Toulouse, an association which is to be the first model of the League. Distress of the Court, which sells a hundred thousand crowns worth of ecclesiastical estates.—Expenditure of the state eighteen millions of francs, receipts ten millions.—Peace is troubled by the hatred of the Guises against Coligni, by the increase of the Swiss guard, and the creation of the French guards, by the embassy from the Pope, Philip II. and the Duke of Savoy, by the plot laid to give up Jeanne d'Albret, and her son to Philip II.; and lastly, by the edict of Roussillon, which modifies the treaty of Amboise, 1564. Journey of the King and his mother in the southern provinces, 1564—1565. Interview of Catherine de Medicis with the Duke of Alva at Bayonne.—1567, 1568, the Court levies troops and enlists six thousand Swiss. *Second War*, 1567. The Protestants try to take possession of the King, they lose Orleans; they are defeated at St. Denis, they cannot take Chartres, and the Court amuses them by the Peace of Longjumeau, which confirms that of Amboise. 1568, the Court does not send away the foreign troops, and the Protestants do not restore the places of which they are masters. The attempt to make the leaders of the Protestants pay the expenses of the war, and to seize Condé and Coligni in Burgundy, occasions the *Third War*, 1568—1570. L'Hôpital gives up the seals. The Protestant army itself pays its German auxiliaries. La Rochelle becomes their basis of operations. —1569, the Protestants conquered at Jarnac (death of Condé), and at Moncontour (Coligni wounded). Henri of Béarn at the head of the Protestant party, of which Coligni is the real chief.—The King deserted by the Italian and Spanish troops, the Protestants on the point of being abandoned by the German troops, conclude a peace at St. Germain, 1570. Advantageous conditions for the Protestants; free worship in two towns in every province, strongholds (La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac and La Charité); the projected marriage of the King of Navarre; hope given to Coligni of commanding the troops which the Court will send to the help of the Protestants in the Low Countries.

(2) 1570—1577. The Protestants drawn to Paris by the marriage of the King of Navarre.—1572, St. Bartholomew. The Court allows the Protestants time to regain their courage, and shows its weakness by besieging uselessly La Rochelle, 1573. Creation of the party of *Politiques*, which soon becomes an ally of the Protestants. Of the two brothers of the King, the elder is absent for one year from France (by becoming King of Poland); the younger puts him-

-64) offering himself as mediator between the "pagan-"ism of Zwinglius and the papistry of Luther." The Church of Calvin was a democracy and absorbed the

self at the head of the *Politiques*.—1574, death of Charles IX.—1574—1589, Henri III. Flight of Henry of Navarre, and of the Duke of Alençon. Vacillation of Henri III., and the behaviour of the Duke of Alençon, who places himself at the head of the French Protestants, and afterwards at the head of the Protestants of the Low Countries, decide the Catholic party on looking for a leader out of the Royal family. The treaty of 1576 determines the formation of the League. By this treaty the King cedes to his brother Anjou, Touraine, and Berri; freedom of worship is granted everywhere except in Paris; every Parliament to consist of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants; Fortresses, Angoulême, Niort, La Charité, Bourges, Saumur, and Mézières, in which the Protestants might place garrisons paid by the King. (For the rest see the Synchronical Tables XII. and XIII).

(3) 1577—1594. 1577, formation of the League. Henry of Guise, *le Balafré*. Policy of Philip II.—States of Blois. Henry III. declares himself head of the League.—1577—1579, *Fifth and Sixth Wars*. Taking of Cahors.—1580, *Seventh War*.—1584, death of the Duke of Anjou (formerly Duke of Alençon). Pretensions of the Cardinal of Bourbon, secret hopes of Henry of Guise, and of Philip II. 1585, treaty of Henry III. with the League, as concluded at Nemours.—1586—1598, *Eighth War*. 1587, battle of Coutras. Success of Henri of Guise. Organization of the League. Council of the *Sixteen*. 1588, Battle of the Barricades. States of Blois. Assassination of Henry of Guise. 1589, Alliance of Henry III. with the King of Navarre. Siege of Paris. Assassination of Henri III. Extinction of the branch of Valois [1328—1589]. Imminent dissolution of the monarchy. 1589—1610, Henri IV. King of France and Navarre, first King of the House of Bourbon. Charles X., King of the League. Mayenne. Battle of Arques, 1590. 1592, Battle of Ivry. Sieges of Paris and of Rouen. Skilful campaigns of the Prince of Parma, who saves these two places. Battle of Aumale.—1593, States of Paris. Philip II. demands the throne of France for his daughter. Abjuration of Henri IV., 1594; he enters Paris.

(4) 1594—1610. Submission of Normandy, of Picardy, of Champagne, of Burgundy, of Provence, and of Brittany; the Dukes of Guise, of Mayenne, and of Mercœur.—1594—1598, Henri IV. recognised by the Pope.—1595—1598, War against the Spaniards. They take Cambrai, Calais, Amiens, 1598. *Peace of Vervins* (in spite of Elizabeth and the Dutch). Philip II. loses all his conquests, except the county of Charolais.—Edict of Nantes. The Reformers obtain the public exercise of their worship, and all civil privileges; they

State. Calvinism like Catholicism held a ground which was completely independent of the temporal power.

The alliance between Berne and Fribourg enabled the

preserve their importance as a political party.—1600—1601, conquests over the Duke of Savoy. Marriage of the King with Marie de Medicis. 1602, Conspiracy of Biron. 1604, Conspiracy of the family of Entragues. The King mediates between the Pope and Venice, 1607, between Spain and the United Provinces, 1609. His projects for the abasement of the House of Austria and for the organisation of the European Republic. 1610. Assassination of Henri IV. —*Administration of Henri IV.* State of the finances on his accession. Attempts at reform.—1596, Assembly of the notables at Rouen. The King confides the finances to Sully. Order and economy. Agriculture protected (Olivier de Serres). New manufactures. Encouragement given to Commerce, and to Art. 1604, Treaty of Commerce with the Sultan. Canal of Briare. Embellishment of Paris.—Reform of Justice. 1603, edict against duels. 1604, institution of the *Paulette.*—Colonies [1557, in Brazil, 1564 in Florida] in Cayenne and in Canada. Foundation of Quebec, in 1608. Prosperity of France and its powerful condition at the end of the reign of Henri IV.

§ III. Rivalries between England, Scotland and Spain. Reign of Elizabeth, 1558—1603.

The intervention of England in the affairs of the continent, hitherto limited and capricious, becomes extensive and regular under Elizabeth. Political interests in England as in Spain are subordinated to religious interests.—Dangers which surround Elizabeth. Her contested legitimacy. Pretensions of Mary Stuart Queen of Scots (and soon of France) to the throne of England. Philip II. after vainly seeking the hand of Elizabeth makes common cause with Mary Stuart as soon as she ceases to be Queen of France (June, 1560). Discontent of the Catholics and Calvinists in England. When Scotland is no longer open to the intrigues of Philip II. Ireland revolts and favours the disembarkation of the Spanish troops. While Protestantism weakened France, Switzerland and Germany, it strengthened England, where the sovereign continued armed with all the power of the ancient hierarchy.—Elizabeth postpones for thirty years (from 1558 to 1588) open war with Spain, but she excites the Protestants in Scotland, succours feebly those in France, and gives effectual aid to those in the Low Countries, to whom she is united still more closely by the commercial interests of England. At length war breaks out; it developes the strength of England and gives her the supremacy on sea.—1558, accession of Elizabeth; 1559, she gives

reformer to preach from behind the shelter of the Swiss lances. From his post between Italy, Switzerland and France, Calvin shook the whole of Western Europe. He

its present form to the Anglican Church. Her intervention in the wars between France and the Low Countries (see above).—1559—1587, her rivalry with Mary Stuart. Troubles of Presbyterian Scotland. 1560, Treaty of Edinburgh and abolition of the Catholic religion. Mary renounces the arms of England.—1565, marriage of the Queen of Scotland with Darnley, who was soon afterwards murdered. 1567, James VI. proclaimed by the rebel Scots.—Mary takes refuge in England where she is kept prisoner by Elizabeth, 1568—1587. Conspiracies in her favour.—1587, Mary Stuart beheaded.—1588—1603, Philip II. attempts the conquest of England. 1588, destruction of the "Invincible Armada." 1589, expedition to Portugal; 1599, to Cadiz; and France, 1591—1597. 1595, rebellion of Ireland, stirred up by Spain. 1601, death of the Earl of Essex; 1603, death of Elizabeth and end of the House of Tudor. —Administration of Elizabeth. Extent of the royal prerogative. She represses the nonconformists, but with less cruelty than Henry VIII., and the Puritans only after her victory over the "Invincible Armada." By her economy she clears off the debts of the former governments (four millions sterling), favours the increase of commerce and industry; rather than assemble frequent parliaments she has recourse to monopolies, loans, &c. The English navy raised from 42 vessels to 1,232. Brilliant expeditions of Hawkins, Frobisher, Davis, Drake and Cavendish. 1584, first settlements in northern America.

§ IV. STATE OF THE FOUR BELLIGERENT POWERS AFTER THE STRUGGLE OF THE REFORMATION AND THE IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT STRUGGLE.

Spain—Internal administration of Philip II. His revenues surpass those of all the Christian princes put together, yet several of his enterprises fall through for want of money.—1568, death of Don Carlos. 1568—1571, extermination of the Moors of Granada. 1580, conquest of Portugal, which does not compensate for the los. of the Low Countries. Decline of Portugal, slow under John III., 1521—1557; rapid under Sebastian, 1557—1578, who dies when on an expedition against the African Moors. 1578—1580, Henri the Cardinal. Victory of the Duke of Alva over Antonio of Crato, at Alcantara. 1591, insurrection of the Aragonese. Their "Justiza" put to death by order of Philip II.—Reign of favourites, of the Duke of Lerma under Philip III., 1598—1621; of Olivarès under Philip IV., 1621—1665. Exhaustion of Spain in respect of the

had neither the impetuosity, nor the geniality, nor the sense of humour which distinguished Luther. His style was dry and bitter, but powerful, concise and penetrating. More consistent in his writings than in his conduct, he began by demanding tolerance from Francis I.[1] and ended by burning Servetus.

The Vaudois and all the clever, restless population of the south of France, who, in the Middle Ages, had been the first to try to shake off the yoke of Rome, were the first to rally round the new doctrine. From Geneva and Navarre it spread to the commercial town of La Rochelle, and thence to the, at that time, learned cities of the interior—Poitiers, Bourges, and Orleans; it penetrated into the Low Countries and strengthened the bands of *Rederikers* who overran the country declaiming against abuses. From thence it crossed the sea and

precious metals and population. (See the years 1600 and 1603 XIV. and XVI. Synchronical Tables.) Spain no longer producing commodities to exchange for the precious metals of America ceases to be enriched by them. Of all the American importations less than one-twentieth are manufactured in Spain. At Seville the 16,000 looms manufacturing wool and silk towards 1556 are reduced to 400 towards 1621.—In 1609 Spain drives away a million industrious subjects (the Moors from Valencia) and is forced to grant a truce of twelve years to the United Provinces.—The Spanish fleet, towards 1520 1,000 vessels strong, gradually sinks to nothing from 1588 to 1639. The Spanish infantry yields the pre-eminence to the French infantry, especially after 1643 (battle of Rocroi).—1640, revolt of Catalonia. Revolution in Portugal; accession of the House of Braganza in the person of Juan IV.

United Provinces, 1609—1621. The new Republic grows rapidly in prosperity and importance; but symptoms of its decline may already be perceived in the quarrels between the Stadtholders and the States-General—Maurice and Barneveldt. Gomarists and Armenians 1618—1619, Synod of Dordrecht; 1619, Barneveldt beheaded. 1621—1648 renewal of the Spanish war under Spinola and Frederick Henry, 1625, siege of Breda by the Spanish, 1628, siege of Bois-le Duc by the Dutch. Battle of Bergen-op-Zoom. 1622, siege of Maestricht.—1635, alliance of the United Provinces with France for

[1] *Præfatio ad Christianissimum regem quâ hic ei liber pro confessione fidei offertur.* This eloquent preface opens the "Calvin's Institutes," published in 1536, and translated into French by himself.

disturbed the victory of Henry VIII. over the Pope; it mounted the throne of England with Edward VI. (1547), and was carried into the wilds of Scotland by John Knox; it stopped only at the foot of the mountains, in which the Highlanders preserved the faith of their ancestors together with hatred of the Saxon heretics.

In the beginning the meetings of the Calvinists were held in secret. The first which took place in France were in Paris, in the Rue St. Jaques (about 1550); they soon became frequent. The scaffold did not put an end to them, it was such a happiness for the people to hear the word of God in their own language. Many were attracted by curiosity, others by compassion, some even by the danger itself. In 1550, there was but one Reformed church in France, in 1561 there were more than 2,000. Sometimes they assembled in the open fields

the partition of the Spanish Netherlands. (See below the consequences of this war.)—Philip II. by closing the port of Lisbon to the Dutch had forced them to procure their oriental merchandise from India. 1595, expedition of Cornelius Hautman. 1602, East India Company. First established in the islands, its depôts spread along the coasts of the continent. 1619, foundation of Batavia. 1621, East India Company. 1630—1640, attempt on Brazil. Establishments in the American islands.—1648, *Peace of Münster*. Spain recognises the independence of the United Provinces, leaves them their conquests in Europe and beyond the seas, and consents to close the Scheldt.

France and England. The internal tranquillity and the political importance of these two kingdoms seem to depend upon the lives of their sovereigns, Henri IV. and Elizabeth.—In France the Protestants and nobles have been restrained rather than weakened. Two consequences from the death of Henri IV. (1) France, once again feeble and divided, falls again under the influence of Spain until the ministry of Richelieu; (2) the religious war destined to set Europe in a blaze will burst out later, but last longer for want of a powerful moderator to dominate and direct it.—In England the necessity for the national defence and the personal character of Elizabeth have rendered the power of the Crown unlimited; but the changes in the habits of the nation, the growing importance of the Commons, the fanaticism of the Puritans, will, under sovereigns of weaker will and abilities, occasion the dislocation of the kingdom.—From the deaths of Elizabeth and Henri IV. we may perceive in the distance the English Revolution and the Thirty Years' War.

in numbers amounting to eight or ten thousand; the minister mounted a cart or the stump of a tree; the people stood to windward that they might hear him better, and then they all, men, women, and children, joined in singing psalms. Those who had arms kept watch all round, their hands on their swords. Then there came pedlers, who sold catechisms, books, and pictures against the bishops and the Pope.[1]

They were not long satisfied with these meetings. No less intolerant than their persecutors they tried to exterminate what they called idolatry. They began by overturning altars, burning pictures and demolishing churches. As early as 1561 they summoned the King of France to destroy the images of Jesus Christ and of the saints.[2]

These were the adversaries whom Philip II. undertook to fight and to annihilate. They were for ever crossing his path: in England they prevented his marrying Elizabeth (1558); in France they balanced the power of his allies the Guises (1561); in the Low Countries they supported with their fanaticism the cause of public liberty.[3]

To the cosmopolitan Charles V. had succeeded in Philip an entirely Castilian prince, who despised every other language, who held in abhorrence every belief but his own, who wanted to establish everywhere the regular Spanish forms of administration, legislation, and religion. At first he had restrained himself in order to marry Mary Queen of England (1555), but he had not deceived the English. The glass of beer which he solemnly drank on landing, the sermons of his confessor

[1] Such, for example, as the Cardinal of Lorraine with the little Francis II. in a sack trying to get his head out to breathe from time to time. In the Low Countries they sold caricatures of Cardinal Granvelle, Philip's Prime Minister, sitting upon eggs out of which bishops were creeping, while the devil hovered over his head, blessing him and saying, "This is my beloved son." Memoirs of Condé, vol. ii. 656, and Schiller's History of the Revolt in the Low Countries, book ii. chap. 1.

[2] Memoirs of Condé, book iii. p. 101.

[3] Especially after 1563.

on tolerance did not procure for him any popularity. The scaffolds raised by his wife made more impression. After the death of Mary (1558) he no longer dissimulated, he introduced Spanish troops into the Low Countries, maintained the Inquisition there, and on his departure declared, as it were, war to all defenders of the liberty of the country in the person of the Prince of Orange.[1] Finally he united with Henri II. against the internal enemies who threatened both sovereigns by marrying his daughter, Elizabeth of France (peace of Château-Cambresis, 1559). The rejoicings at this ominous peace were marked by a fatal incident. A tournament took place at the very foot of the Bastille in which the Protestant Anne Dubourg was awaiting death. The King was wounded, and the marriage was solemnised at night during his last moments.[2]

Philip II. on returning to his own dominions, which he never left again, commemorated his victory of St. Quentin by building the monastery of the Escurial at the cost of fifty million piastres. This gloomy edifice, constructed entirely of granite, is seen from seven leagues off. No sculptures adorn its walls. Its sole beauty consists in the boldness of the arches. It is built in the form of a gridiron.[3]

At this period the Spanish mind had reached the highest point of religious excitement. The rapid progress throughout Europe of the heretics, the victory which by the treaty of Augsburg they had gained over Charles V., their violence against images and their outrages on the Host, which were related to the frightened Spaniards by orthodox preachers, had produced a renewal of fervour. Ignatius Loyola had founded the order of Jesuits, who were entirely devoted to the Holy See (1534

[1] The King on landing said to the Prince of Orange, who sheltered himself behind the States, "No, not the States—but you, you, you!" See Van der Vyncht.

[2] Memoirs of Vielleville, vol. xxvii. p. 417.

[3] Instrument of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. The battle of St. Quentin was gained by the Spaniards on the day consecrated to his memory.

—40). St. Theresa of Jesus reformed the Carmelite nuns and fired every soul with mystic enthusiasm. Soon the Carmelite friars and other mendicant orders were reformed in their turn. The Inquisition was permanently constituted in 1561. With the exception of the Moors, Spain became united as a single man in a violent fit of horror of the miscreants and heretics. Closely united with Portugal which was governed by the Jesuits, having the veterans of Charles V. and the treasures of two hemispheres at her disposal, she determined to force all Europe to submit to her religion and supremacy.

The Protestants, scattered over the world, rallied in the name of Queen Elizabeth, who offered shelter and protection to them. In every direction she encouraged their resistance to Philip II. and the Catholics. Absolute in their own dominions, these two monarchs acted abroad with all the violence of two chiefs of faction. The ostentatious devotion of Philip, the chivalrous spirit of Elizabeth's court, were combined with a system of intrigue and corruption. But the victory could not fail to be Elizabeth's; the times were on her side. She ennobled despotism by the enthusiasm with which she inspired her people. Those, even, whom she persecuted were, in spite of everything, devoted to her. A Puritan, who was condemned to have his hand struck off, had scarcely lost it, when he waved his hat with the other, exclaiming "God save the Queen."

Thirty years were to elapse before the two rivals encountered each other face to face. Their struggle at first went on indirectly in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries.

It did not last long in Scotland (1559—67). Elizabeth's rival, the fascinating Mary Stuart, widow at the age of eighteen of Francis II., found herself a foreigner in the midst of her subjects, who detested in her the Guises, her uncles, the chiefs of the Catholic party in France. Her barons, supported by England, united with her husband Lord Darnley, and assassinated under her eyes her favourite, Rizzio, an Italian musician. Soon

afterwards the house in which Darnley lay sick near Holyrood was blown up: he was buried under its ruins, and Mary was carried off and married by Lord Bothwell, the principal author of the crime, either with her own consent or in spite of it. The Queen and the barons accused each other with mutual recrimination. But Mary proved the weaker party of the two. She could find no refuge except in the dominions of her mortal enemy Elizabeth, who kept her a prisoner, gave the guardianship of her little son to whomsoever she pleased, reigned over Scotland in his name, and henceforth was able to dispute with Philip II. on more equal terms.

It was especially in France and the Netherlands that Elizabeth and Philip carried on their secret war. In these two countries the soul of the Protestant party was William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and his father-in-law, Admiral Coligni, both of them unfortunate as generals, but profound statesmen, men of stubborn and sombre genius, animated by the democratic instincts of Calvinism in spite of the blood of Nassau and Montmorency. Colonel-General of Infantry under Henri II., Coligni rallied round him all the lesser nobles. He gave a republican organization to La Rochelle, while the Prince of Orange encouraged the Confederacy of the Beggars (gueux) and laid the foundation of a more durable republic.

The great Guise and his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine[1] governed France under Francis II., the husband of their niece Mary Stuart (1560). Guise had been the idol of the people ever since he had taken Calais in eight days from the English. But he found the finances of France in utter disorder. He was forced to take back the alienated estates and to suppress the tax for the maintenance of 50,000 men, that is, to disarm the government at the moment when the revolution burst out. Thousands of peti-

[1] See the Memoirs of Gaspard de Tavannes for a comparison of the advantages obtained from Henri II. by the rival Houses of Guise and Montmorency, vol. xxiii. p. 410.

tioners thronged Fontainebleau, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, not knowing what answer to give them, posted up announcements that all who had not left the town in twenty-four hours should be hanged.

The Bourbons, Antoine King of Navarre, and Louis Prince of Condé, who did not like seeing the management of public affairs in the hands of two cadets of the House of Lorraine, profited by the general discontent. They united with the Calvinists, with Coligni, and the English, who came to negotiate with them after nightfall, at St. Denis. The Protestants marched under arms towards Amboise to take possession of the King's person. But they were denounced to the Guises, and massacred on the road. Some of them who had been reserved for execution in the presence of the King and the whole Court, dipped their hands in the blood of their already beheaded brothers, and raised them to Heaven, crying against those who had betrayed them. This funereal scene appeared to bring misfortune to all who witnessed it, to Francis II., to Mary Stuart, to Guise, and to the Chancellor Olivier, who, though a Protestant at heart, had condemned them, and who died of remorse.[1]

On the accession of the little Charles IX., in 1561, the sovereign power devolved upon his mother Catherine of Medicis, but she was incapable of retaining possession of it; she only withheld it for a time from the Guises, the chiefs of the Catholic party, and during this interval the government remained suspended between the two parties. It was not for an Italian woman, with the old Borgian policy, to hold the balance between the determined men who despised her: she was not worthy of this age of conviction, nor was the age itself worthy of the Chancellor L'Hôpital,[2] that noble image of cool wisdom, but a wisdom powerless against passion. Guise once more, as chief of his party, seized the power which he had lost. The Court furnished him with a pretext, by issuing the

[1] Vielleville, vol. xxxii. p. 425.

[2] The Chancellor de L'Hôpital, "who carried the Fleur de Lys in his heart." See L'Etoile, vol. xlv. p. 57

moderate decrees of St. Germain and of January, and by admitting the Huguenot preachers to share in a solemn discussion in the conference of Poissy. While the Calvinists were rising at Nîmes, the Duke of Guise was passing through Vassy in Champagne. His followers quarrelled with some Huguenots, who were celebrating divine service, and massacred them (1562). Civil war began. "*Cæsar*," said the Prince of Condé, "*has crossed the Rubicon.*"

At the outset of this terrible struggle neither party hesitated to invoke foreign aid.[1] The old political barriers which separated nations fell before the interests of religion. The Protestants asked their brothers in Germany for help, they gave up Havre to the English, while the Guises entered into a vast combination, formed, it was said, by the King of Spain, to crush Geneva and Navarre, the two strongholds of heresy, to exterminate the Calvinists in France, and afterwards subdue the Lutherans in the Empire.[2] The two parties assembled in every direction, both animated by fierce enthusiasm. In these first armies there were neither games of chance, nor blasphemy, nor debauchery; united prayer took place morning and evening.[3] But hearts were just as hard under this holy exterior. Montluc, Governor of Guyenne, travelled all over his province with executioners. "One could tell," he says of himself, "which way he had passed, for the signs might be seen on the trees and roads."[4] In Dauphiny, a Protestant, the Baron des Adrets, precipitated his prisoners from the top of a tower on to the pikes of their enemies.

At first Guise was victorious at Dreux;[5] he took

[1] La Noue, vol. xxxiv. p. 123—157. "The foreigners opened their eyes in astonishment, and longed to enter France."

[2] Memoirs of Condé, vol. iii. p. 210.

[3] La Noue, vol. xxxiv. p. 125. "Most of the nobles determined on coming to Paris, imagining that their patrons might require them . . . . with 10, 20, or 30 of their friends, bearing their arms concealed, and lodging in inns or in the open fields, paying well."

[4] Montluc, vol. xx.

[5] See in the Memoirs of Condé vol. iv., the accounts of the

Condé, the Protestant general, prisoner, shared his bed with him, and slept soundly by the side of his deadly enemy. Orleans, the chief stronghold of the Huguenots, was saved only by the assassination of the Duke of Guise, who was wounded by a Protestant with a pistol-shot from behind (1563).

The Queen-Mother having thus got rid of a master, treated with the Protestants (at Amboise, 1563), and found herself obliged by the indignation of the Catholics to violate in succession every article in the treaty. Condé and Coligni tried in vain to obtain possession of the young King; they were defeated at St. Denis, but were still powerful enough to dictate to the Court the peace of Longjumeau (1568), which was nicknamed "boiteuse et mal assise" (lame and inconclusive); and which confirmed that of Amboise. An attempt on the part of the Court to seize the two chiefs led to a third war. With the Chancellor L'Hôpital, the councils of the King lost all moderation; the Protestants made La Rochelle their stronghold instead of Orleans; they taxed themselves to pay their German auxiliaries who were being brought to them across France by the Duke of Zweibrücken and the Prince of Orange. In spite of their defeat at Jarnac and at Montcontour (1569), notwithstanding the death of Condé and the wound of Coligni, the Court was forced to grant them a third peace (St. Germain, 1570). They were to be free to exercise their religion in two towns in every province; they were allowed to keep as fortresses La Rochelle, Montaubon, Cognac, and La Charité. The young King of Navarre was to marry the sister of Charles IX. (Marguerite de Valois). Coligni was even allowed to hope for the command of the contingent which, it was said, the King was to send to help the Huguenots in the Low Countries. The Catholics were indignant with such a humiliating treaty after four victories; the Protestants themselves could

battle of Dreux, attributed to Coligni, p. 176, and to François de Guise, p. 688.

scarcely credit it, and accepted it only from lassitude,[1] and the far-seeing expected some frightful catastrophe to ensue from this hostile peace.

In the Low Countries the situation was no less alarming. Philip II. was incapable of understanding either liberty, or the Northern character, or commercial interest. All his subjects, Belgians and Batavians, turned against him; the Calvinists, who were persecuted by the Inquisition; the nobles, henceforth without the hope of re-establishing their fortunes, which had been ruined in the service of Charles V.; the clergy, who dreaded the reforms ordered by the Council of Trent, and the endowment of new Bishoprics at their expense; and, lastly, all good citizens, who beheld with indignation the introduction of Spanish troops, and the destruction of the old liberties of the country. At first the opposition of the Flamands forced the King to recall his old minister, Cardinal Granvelle (1563); the highest nobility formed the confederation of the Beggars (gueux), and hung round their necks wooden bowls, as a sign of their union with the people (1566). The Calvinists lifted up their heads in every direction, printed more than 5,000 books against the ancient Faith, and in the provinces of Brabant and Flanders alone pillaged and desecrated 400 churches.[2]

These last excesses caused the measure to overflow. The cruel mind of Philip II. was already hatching the most sinister projects; he determined to pursue and to exterminate these terrible enemies whom he encountered everywhere, even in his own family. He included in the same detestation both the legal opposition of the Flemish nobles, the iconoclast fury of the Calvinists, and the obstinate attachment of the poor Moors to the religion, language, and costume of their fathers. But he would not act without the sanction of the Church: he ob-

[1] "The Admiral said that he would rather die than fall again into such confusion, and see such horrors committed before his eyes." La Noue, vol. xxxiv. p. 290.

[2] Schiller, vol. i. p. 253, and the beginning of vol. ii.

tained from the Inquisition a secret condemnation of his rebels in the Low Countries;[1] he even interrogated the most celebrated doctors, amongst others Oraduy, professor of theology at the University of Alcala, on the measures he ought to take with regard to the Moors. Oraduy replied with the proverb "*The fewer enemies the better.*"[2] The King, confirmed in his project of vengeance, swore to give such an example in the persons of his enemies as "should make the ears of Christendom tingle, even though he should endanger all his dominions."[3]

The sanguinary counsels which the court of Philip had given to France through the Duke of Alva,[4] he now began to follow without any distinction of person, and with an atrocious inflexibility. His son, Don Carlos, talked of going to place himself at the head of the rebels in the Low Countries; Philip caused the physicians to hasten his death (1568). He established the Inquisition in America (1570). He disarmed on the same day all the Moors in Valencia, forbade those in Granada to use the Arab language and costume, prohibited the bath, the *Zambras*, the *Leilas*, and even the green branches with which these unhappy people covered their tombs; while their children above the age of five were forced into schools to learn the Castilian language and religion (1563-8). At the same time the sanguinary Duke of Alva marched from Italy into Flanders at the head of an army as fanatical as Spain, and as corrupt as Italy.[5] On hearing of this march the Swiss armed to protect Geneva. One hundred thousand persons imitated the

[1] Meteren, fol. 54.

[2] Ferrera, vol. ix. p. 525.

[3] Letter from the Spanish Envoy in Paris, addressed to the Duchess of Parma, regent of the Low Countries, quoted by Schiller in his 2nd vol.

[4] Interview at Bayonne, 1566. The Duke of Alva was heard to say to the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medicis, *that the head of one salmon was worth more than the heads of* 100 *frogs.*

[5] See the details in Meteren, book iii. p. 52.

Prince of Orange, in flying from the Low Countries.[1] On his arrival the Duke of Alva established the *Council of Troubles*—the *Council of Blood* as the Belgians called it—which was partly composed of Spaniards (1567). All who refused to abjure, all who had been present at the Huguenot services—even though they were Catholics—all who had tolerated them, were equally put to death. The "gueux" or Beggars, as the leaders of the resistance to Philip's despotism called themselves, were punished as severely as the heretics; those even who had only solicited the recall of Granvelle were sought out and punished. Count Egmont, whose victories at St. Quentin, and Gravelines had thrown a lustre over the beginning of the reign of Philip II., the people's idol and one of the most loyal servants of the Crown, perished on the scaffold. The efforts of the Protestants of Germany and France, who furnished Louis of Nassau, a brother of the Prince of Orange, with an army, were baffled by the Duke of Alva, and to insult his victims the more he set up in his citadel of Antwerp a bronze statue of himself, trampling slaves under foot, and threatening the town.

The same barbarity and the same success attended Philip in Spain; he seized with joy the opportunity given by the revolt of the Moors to overpower that unhappy people. While he turned his forces against foreigners he would not leave any resistance behind him. The rigour of oppression had restored some courage to the Moors. A carmine merchant belonging to the family of the Abencerrages combined with others; thick clouds of smoke rose up from mountain to mountain; the red flag was raised; even the women armed themselves with long packing needles to pierce the bellies of the horses; everywhere the priests were massacred. But soon the Spanish veterans arrived. The Moors received some feeble assistance from Algiers, they implored in vain for that of the Sultan Selim. Old men, children, and

[1] "We have done nothing," said Granvelle, "since the Silent One has been allowed to escape."

supplicating women were massacred without mercy. The King ordered that all above the age of ten who remained should become slaves (1571).[1]

The weak and shameful government of France did not choose to be behindhand. The exasperation of the Catholics had reached its highest pitch, when on the marriage of the King of Navarre to Marguerite of Valois, they beheld amongst them those serious determined men whom they had often met upon the battle field, and whose presence here they look on as a personal disgrace. They counted their own numbers, and began to throw sinister glances on their enemies. Without giving the Queen-Mother or her sons the credit of so deeply laid a plan and such profound dissimulation, we may believe that the possibility of such an event as followed had had some weight in bringing about the peace of St. Germain. Such a daring crime, however, would have been too much for their resolution if they had not feared for an instant the influence of Coligni over the young Charles IX. The King's mother and his brother the Duke of Anjou, whom he had begun to threaten, recovered by means of intimidation their influence over a mind feeble, capricious, and verging on the brink of madness, and made him resolve upon the massacre of the Huguenots, as easily as he would have ordered that of the principal Catholics.

On the 24th of August, 1572, about two or three in the morning, the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled, and young Henry of Guise, thinking to avenge the death of his father, began the massacre by murdering Coligni. Then there was but one cry heard, "Kill! Kill!" Most of the Protestants were surprised in their beds. A gentleman was pursued with halberds into the room and even to the bedside of the Queen of Navarre. One Catholic boasted of having ransomed from the "massacreurs" more than thirty Huguenots in order to torture them at leisure. Charles IX. sent for his brother-in-law

[1] Ferrera, vols. ix. and x. Cabrera, 1619, p. 465—661, *passim.*

and the Prince of Condé, and said to them "The Mass or death!" It is asserted that from one of the windows of the Louvre he fired upon the Huguenots who were flying on the opposite side of the river. On the next day a thorn having flowered in the Cemetery of the Innocents, this pretended miracle revived the spirit of fanaticism, and the massacre was renewed. The King, Queen-Mother, and the whole Court went to Monfaucon to see the remains of the Admiral's body.[1] L'Hôpital must be added to the victims of St. Bartholomew; when he heard the execrable news he ordered his doors to be opened to the "massacreurs;" and he survived it only six months, during which he repeated constantly, "Excidat illa dies ævo!"[2]

[1] De Thou, vol. xxxvii. p. 233.

[2] Collection des Mémoires, vol. xxxvii., Marguerite de Valois, 49—59, and de Thou, 230—3; xxxv. Report of the Maréchal de Tavannes to the King on the affairs of his kingdom after the peace of St. Germain; xlv. l'Etoile, 73—8; 1st vol. of the 2nd series. Sully, 225—246; see especially in vol. xliv. of the first series of the speech of King Henri III. to a person of honour and quality (Miron, his physician), who was with his master at Cracow, on the causes and motives of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 496—510:—

"Now, after having rested only two hours in the night, as soon as the day began to break, the King, the Queen my mother, and I went to the portico of the Louvre, joining the tennis-court, and a room which looks into the lower courtyard, to see the beginning of the execution. We had not been there long, and were considering the event and consequences of this great undertaking, which, to tell the truth, we had not until now thought much about, when we suddenly heard a pistol-shot; we knew not in what direction or if any one was hurt. Well I know that the sound struck us all three so sharply that it affected our senses and the calmness of our judgment. We were all seized with terror and apprehension of the great disorders which were then about to be committed, and to obviate them we sent suddenly, and in all diligence, a messenger to M. de Guise to tell and expressly command him on our part to return to his lodgings, and that he should take care to do nothing against the Admiral; this one command would have stopped all the rest. But soon after the messenger returned and told us that M. de Guise had answered him that the command had come too late, that the Admiral was dead, and that the execution was beginning all over the town. Therefore we returned to our first intentions, and soon afterwards we allowed

One fact, as horrible as the massacre itself, was the rejoicing which it excited. Medals were struck in its honour at Rome, and Philip II. congratulated the Court of France. He thought that Protestantism was conquered. He associated the day of St. Bartholomew, and the massacres ordered by the Duke of Alva, with the glorious victory of Lepanto, in which the fleets of Spain, of the Pope, and of Venice, commanded by Don John, of Austria, the natural son of Charles V., had in the preceding year annihilated the Ottoman fleet. The Turks vanquished at sea, the Moors reduced, the heretics exterminated in France and the Netherlands, seemed to open to the King of Spain the road to that universal monarchy to which his father had aspired in vain.

the undertaking and the execution to take its course. This, sir, is the true history of the St. Bartholomew, of which the hearing hath troubled me much this night."

CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION TO THE DEATH OF HENRI IV., 1572—1610. VIEW OF THE SITUATION OF THE BELLIGERENT POWERS AFTER THE RELIGIOUS WAR.

Death of Charles IX., 1574—*Insurrection of the Low Countries*, 1572—*Union of Utrecht*, 1579—*The League formed in France*, 1577—*Battle of Coutras*, 1587—*Barricades*, 1588—*Assassination of Henry III.*, 1589—*Accession of Henry IV.*—*Death of Mary Stuart*, 1587—*The Spanish Armada*, 1588—*Greatness of Elizabeth.*

§ 1. To the Peace of Vervins—1572—1598.

"King Charles, hearing on the evening of the same day and all the next, stories of the murders of old men, women, and children which had been committed, drew aside Master Ambroise Paré, his first surgeon, whom he loved greatly, although he was of the Religion (that is a Huguenot), and said to him: Ambroise, I know not what has ailed me the last two or three days, but I feel much shaken both in mind and body, just as if I had a fever, for it seems every moment, whether I am waking or sleeping, that those massacred bodies are lifting up to me their hideous faces all covered with blood. I wish that they had spared the helpless and innocent."[1] He languished from that time, and eighteen months afterwards was carried off by a bloody flux (1574).

[1] Sully, 1st vol. of the Collection of Memoirs, 2nd series, p. 245.

The crime had been fruitless. In many towns the governors refused to carry it into effect. The Calvinists threw themselves into La Rochelle, Sancerre and other fortresses in the South, and defended themselves desperately. The horror inspired by the St. Bartholomew gave them auxiliaries by creating among the Catholics a moderate party, the "Politiques" as they were called. The new king, Henri III., who came back from Poland to succeed his brother was known as one of the authors of the massacre. His own brother, the Duke of Alençon, escaped from Court with the young King of Navarre, and thus united the *Politiques* and the Calvinists.

In the Netherlands the tyranny of the Duke of Alva had met with no better success. As long as he was satisfied with setting up scaffolds the people were quiet, and saw the heads of the most illustrious nobles fall without repugnance. There was but one way of inspiring with equal disgust the Catholics and the Protestants, the nobles and the citizens, the Netherlanders of north and south, and this was the establishment of vexatious taxes, and leaving the troops unpaid to prey upon the inhabitants. The Duke of Alva did both. The tithe tax, which was levied on provisions, caused the agents of Spanish taxation to interfere in the most petty sales, in the market and in the shops. Innumerable fines and continual vexations irritated the whole population. While the shops were being closed and the Duke of Alva was hanging the shopkeepers for closing them, the *sea-beggars*, such was the name given to the fugitives who lived by piracy, driven from the ports of England by the remonstrances of Philip II., took possession of the fortress of *Brill* in Holland (1572), and opened the war in that country, which is intersected by arms of the sea, by rivers and canals. Many towns drove out the Spaniards. Perhaps there might yet have been some means of pacification, but the Duke of Alva announced to the first towns which surrendered that they were to hope neither for good faith nor clemency. At Rotterdam, Mechlin, Zutphen, and Naerden capitulations were

violated and the inhabitants massacred. Haarlem, knowing what to expect, broke the sea-dykes, and sent ten Spanish heads to pay their tithes. After a memorable resistance, the town obtained forgiveness, and the Duke of Alva included the sick and wounded in the general massacre. Even the Spanish soldiers had some remorse for this want of faith, and to expiate it they devoted part of the spoil to building a house for the Jesuits at Brussels.

Under the successors of the Duke of Alva, the license of the Spanish troops who pillaged Antwerp forced the Walloon provinces of the Southern Netherlands to rise up in conjunction with those of the north (1576); but this alliance could not last. The revolution acquired solid strength and concentration in the north by means of the Union of Utrecht, which was the foundation of the Republic of the United Provinces (1579). The intolerance of the Protestants drove the southern provinces back under the yoke of Spain. The population of the Northern Netherlands, which was thoroughly Protestant and German both in character and language, and entirely composed of citizens addicted to maritime commerce, attracted all the analogous elements in the southern provinces; the Spaniards might recover the towns and territory of the Southern Netherlands, but the most industrious portion of the people escaped them.

The insurgents offered successively to submit to the German branch of the House of Austria, to France, and to England. The Archduke Matthias gave them no assistance. Don John, the brother and general of Philip II., the Duke of Anjou, brother of Henri III., Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite, one after the other, wanted to be sovereigns of the Low Countries, and proved themselves to be all equally perfidious (1577, 1582, 1587). At length the United Provinces, considered as a prey by all to whom they applied, determined, as they could find no king, to remain a republic. The genius of this new-born state was the Prince of Orange, who abandoning the southern provinces to the invincible

Duke of Parma, maintained the struggle by statesmanship, until a fanatic, armed by Spain, assassinated him in 1584.

While Philip was losing half of the Netherlands he was gaining Portugal. The young king Don Sebastian had thrown himself on the coast of Africa with 10,000 men, in the vain hope of conquering it and penetrating to India. In the time of the Crusades he would have been a hero; in the 16th century he was only an adventurer. His uncle, Cardinal Don Henry, who succeeded him, died soon afterwards, and Philip II. seized Portugal in the teeth of France and of the Portuguese themselves (1580).

In France everything was playing into his hands. The vacillation of Henri III. and that of the Duke of Alençon, who placed himself at the head of the Protestants in France and afterwards of the Low Countries, had decided the Catholic party on seeking for a head outside of the royal family. By the treaty of 1576 the King granted to the Calvinists the liberty of exercising their religion throughout the kingdom with the exception of Paris; he allowed them to share a chamber with the Catholics in every parliament and gave them several fortified towns (Angoûlème, Niort, La Charité, Bourges, Saumur, and Mezières) in which they might keep a garrison paid by the King. This treaty brought about the formation of the League (1577). Its members swore to defend religion, *to restore to the provinces the same rights, franchises, and liberties which they enjoyed in the time of Clovis*, to take measures against all who might persecute the League *without a single exception*, that so they might *render prompt obedience and faithful service to the chief whom they should nominate.*[1] The King thought that he should be master of the association by appointing himself its chief. He began to suspect the designs of the Duke of Guise; in the papers of a lawyer who died at Lyons on his way from Rome, a document had

[1] First vol. of the Collection of Memoirs, 2nd series, p. 66.

been found which said that the descendants of Hugh Capet had reigned till then illegitimately, and by means of an usurpation which was accursed of God; and that the throne belonged to the Princes of Lorraine, of whom the Guises were a part, as the real posterity of Charlemagne. The death of the King's brother encouraged these pretensions (1584). Henri III. having no children and the majority of the Catholics rejecting the sovereignty of the heretical prince on whom the crown would devolve at his death the Duke of Guise and the King of Spain, Henri's brother-in-law, united to dethrone the King, leaving the distribution of the spoil a future subject of dispute. It was only too easy for them to make him detested. The reverses of his armies were attributed to treachery; the feeble prince was at the same time beaten by the Protestants and accused by the Catholics. The victory of Coutras, in which the King of Navarre distinguished himself by his valour and by his clemency to the vanquished (1587) put the finishing stroke to the irritation of the Catholics. While the League was being organised in the capital, Henri III. divided between the cares of a monastic devotion and the excesses of a disgusting debauchery, exhibited to the whole of Paris his scandalous prodigality and his childish tastes. He spent 1,200,000 francs on the marriage of his favourite Joyeuse, and had not money enough to pay a messenger to send to the Duke of Guise a letter on which the safety of his kingdom depended. He passed his time in arranging his Queen's ruff and curling his own hair. He caused himself to be nominated prior of the brotherhood of White Penitents. "In the beginning of November the King posted on all the churches of Paris, and on the oratories, otherwise called the 'paradis,' whither he went every day to distribute alms and to pray with great devoutness, an announcement that he was about to leave off the shirts with large plaits in which he had formerly been so curious, in order to adopt those with the collar turned back in the Italian fashion. He generally went in a coach with the Queen, his wife, all over the streets

of Paris, taking with him little lapdogs, and having the grammar read to him while he learnt the declensions."[1]

In this way the crisis became imminent in France and throughout the west (1585—1588). It seemed likely to be favourable to Spain; the seizure of Antwerp by the Prince of Parma, the most memorable feat of arms in the 16th century, completed the reduction of the Southern Netherlands (1585). The King of France was obliged to surrender at discretion to the Guises in the same year and the League took Paris for its centre, an immense town in which religious fanaticism was reinforced by democratic fanaticism (1588). But the King of Navarre, against every expectation, resisted the whole united force of the Catholics (1586–7). Elizabeth gave an army to the United Provinces (1585), and money to the King of Navarre (1585); she baffled every conspiracy (1584–5–6), and struck at Spain and the Guises in the person of Mary Stuart.

For a long time Elizabeth had replied to the solicitations of her councillors by saying "*Can I kill the bird which has taken refuge in my bosom?*" She had accepted the embroideries and the dresses from Paris which her prisoner presented to her. But the growing irritation caused by the great European struggle, the fears constantly impressed upon Elizabeth for her own life, the mysterious power of the Jesuit Parsons, who from the Continent managed to stir up England to revolt, pushed the Queen to the last extremities.

In spite of the intervention of the Kings of France and Scotland, Mary was condemned to death by a commission, as guilty of having conspired with foreigners to invade England and compass the death of Elizabeth. A room was hung with black in Fotheringay Castle; the Queen of Scots appeared at the block in her richest garments; she consoled her weeping servants, protested her innocence, and pardoned her enemies. Elizabeth aggravated the horror of this cruel resolution by affected regrets and hypocritical denials (1587).

[1] L'Etoile, vol. xlv. p. 123.

The death of Mary was felt nowhere more than in France. But who was there to avenge it? Her brother-in-law Henri III. was falling from the throne, her cousin Henri of Guise was hoping to reach it. "*France was infatuated with that man, it would be too little to say she was in love with him.*" Since his victories over the German troops who crossed the border as allies of the King of Navarre, the people always called him *the new Gideon, the new Maccabæus*, the nobles named him "notre grand" (our great chief). He had only to come to Paris to be her master; the King forbade him and still he came; all the town ran to meet him, crying "*Long live the Duke of Guise! Hosanna filio David!*" He braved the King in his palace of the Louvre, at the head of 400 noblemen. From that time the house of Lorraine thought its cause was gained. The King was to be thrown into a convent; and the Duchess of Montpensier, sister of the Duke of Guise, exhibited the golden scissors with which she intended to cut off the hair of the "Valois." Everywhere the people raised barricades, disarmed the Swiss whom the King had just called into Paris, and would have massacred them all had it not been for the Duke. A moment's irresolution made him lose everything. While he hesitated to attack the Louvre the old Catherine of Medicis amused him by parleyings and the King escaped to Chartres. In vain Guise attempted to unite with the parliament. "It is a great pity, sir," said the President, Achille de Harlai, to him, "when the valet turns off the master; for the rest my soul belongs to God, my heart to the King, even if my body be in the power of the wicked."

The King, free but abandoned by everyone, was obliged to yield; he approved of all that had been done, gave up several towns to the Duke, named him Generalissimo of the Kingdom, and convened the States-General at Blois. The Duke of Guise wanted a higher title, he poured so many insults upon the King that he inspired the most timid of men with a bold resolution, that of assassination.

"On Thursday, December 22nd, 1588, the Duke of Guise on sitting down to dinner found under his napkin a note on which was written 'Beware! they are on the point of playing you a scurvy trick.' After reading it he wrote at the bottom; he said 'They dare not,' and threw it under the table. 'This,' he said, 'is the ninth to-day.' In spite of these warnings, he persisted in attending the council; and as he was crossing the room in which sat the *forty-five gentlemen in waiting* he was murdered." [1]

[1] "On the 23rd, at 4 a.m., the King asked his valet-de-chambre for the keys of the little cells which he had prepared for the Capucines. He went down and from time to time looked himself into his room to see if the *forty-five* had arrived, and as they came he sent them up and locked them in . . . . . Soon after the Duke of Guise was seated at the council, and said, 'I am cold, I feel ill, let a fire be lighted;' and addressing himself to M. de Morfontaine, treasurer of the privy purse, said 'Monsieur de Morfontaine, I beg of you to tell M. de Saint-Prix, the King's first valet-de-chambre, that I beg of him to give me some Damask raisins or some conserve of roses.' The Duke put the sweetmeats into his box and threw the remainder upon the table. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'does anybody wish for them?' and he rose. But when he was only two steps from the door of the old closet, he took his beard in his right hand, and looked round to see who was following; his arm was suddenly seized by the elder Sieur de Montséry, who was near the mantelpiece, and who believing that the Duke had fallen back in the attitude of defence, struck him himself at the same time in the breast with his dagger, exclaiming, 'Ah! traitor, thou shalt die.' And at the same moment the Sieur des Effrenets seized him by the legs, and the Sieur de Saint-Malines stabbed him in the back near the throat, and the Sieur de Loignac with his sword in the loins. And although the Duke's sword was entangled in his cloak and his legs seized, he was able (so powerful was he) to drag them from one end of the room to the other to the foot of the King's bed, where he fell. . . The King was in his closet, and asking them if they had finished, came out and kicked the poor corpse in the face just as the Duke of Guise had treated the late admiral. Strange to say, that when the King had looked at him a little while, he said aloud, 'Good God! how tall he is! He seems much taller dead than alive!'

"The Sieur de Beaulieu perceiving that the body stirred a little, said, 'Sir, as it seems that you still have some flicker of life left, ask forgiveness of God and the King.' Then not being able to speak, the Duke gave a deep hoarse sigh and yielded up the ghost,

During this tragedy, which favoured rather than impeded the designs of Spain, Philip II. undertook the conquest of England and the task of avenging Mary Stuart. On the 3rd of June, 1588, the most formidable armament that had ever terrified Christendom was seen issuing from the mouth of the Tagus: with 135 vessels of a size till then unknown, 8,000 sailors, 19,000 soldiers, the flower of the Spanish nobility, and Lope de Vega on board to sing its victories. The Spaniards, intoxicated with the sight, bestowed on the fleet the name of the "*Invincible Armada.*" It was to join the Prince of Parma in the Netherlands and protect the passage of his 32,000 veteran troops. The forest of Waes, in Flanders, had been turned into transports for them. In England the alarm was extreme. Instruments of torture similar to those which were said to be carried on board the Spanish fleet by the Inquisitors were exhibited at the doors of the churches. The Queen appeared on horseback before her troops at Tilbury, and promised to die for her people. But the strength of England lay in her fleet. The greatest sailors of the age, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher were serving under Admiral Howard. The little English ships harassed the Spanish fleet, which had already suffered much from the elements; it was thrown into disorder by their fire-ships, while the Prince of Parma was not able to sail out of the port of Flanders; and the remains of this formidable Armada, driven by

and was covered with a grey mantle and a straw cross laid on the top. For two hours he was left in this fashion, and then was given into the hands of the Sieur de Richelieu, Provost Marshal of France, who, by command of the King, had the body burned by the executioner in the first chamber at the bottom, on the right hand as you enter the castle, and afterwards the ashes thrown into the river."

Accounts of the deaths of MM. the Duke and the Cardinal de Guise, by the Sieur Miron, physician of the King Henri III., 45th vol. of the Collection of Memoirs; l'Etoile, same vol.; Palma Cayet, xxxviii.; and Sully, vol. i. p. 100—6.

On the Barricades, see the same Memoirs, and especially the procès verbal of Nicolas Poulain, Provost Lieutenant of the Isle of France, vol. xv.

storms along the coast of Scotland and Ireland, returned to hide themselves in the harbours of Spain.

The remainder of Elizabeth's life was a continued triumph: she baffled the attempts of Philip II. on Ireland, and followed up her victories on all seas. The enthusiasm of Europe, excited by so much success, took the most flattering of all forms for a woman, that of an ingenious gallantry. The Queen's age (55) was forgotten. Henri IV. declared to the English ambassador that he thought her handsomer than Gabrielle d'Estrées. Shakespeare spoke of her as the "fair Vestal, throned in the West;" but no homage was more grateful to her than that of the gifted Walter Raleigh and the young and brilliant Earl of Essex. The former made his fortune by throwing his mantle, the most costly which he then possessed, under the feet of the Queen, who was stepping over a dirty road; while Essex captivated her by his heroism. In spite of her orders he escaped from the Court to take part in the Cadiz expedition, he was the first to land, and if he had been listened to, Cadiz might, perhaps, have remained in the possession of England. His ingratitude and tragical end were the only reverses which saddened the last days of Elizabeth.

§ II. To the Death of Henri IV. View of the situation of the Belligerents.

Mayenne—Battle of Arques—Battle of Ivry, 1590—*States-General at Paris*, 1593—*Abjuration and absolution of Henry IV.*, 1593-5—*Edict of Nantes—Peace of Vervins*, 1598—*Exhaustion of Spain. The Moors driven from Valencia*, 1609—*Administration of Henry IV.—Riches of France—Assassination of Henry IV.*, 1610.

Philip II., repulsed by the Netherlands and England, turned all his forces against France. The brother of Guise, the Duc de Mayenne, possessed of equal talent, but less popular, had not sufficient influence to balance the gold and intrigues of Spain.

As soon as the news of the death of Guise reached

Paris, the people put on mourning, and the preachers thundered; the churches were hung with black, and on the altars were placed waxen images of the King, which were pierced with needles. Mayenne was created Chief of the League; the States placed the Government in the hands of forty persons. Bussi-Leclerc, who from a fencing-master had become Governor of the Bastille, imprisoned there half the parliament. Henri III. had no other resource than to throw himself into the arms of the King of Navarre; and they besieged Paris together. They were encamping at St. Cloud, when a young monk named Clement struck Henri III. with a knife in the bowels. The Duchess of Montpensier, sister of the Duke of Guise, who was expecting this news on the road, was the first to carry it, almost distracted with joy, to Paris.

The image of Clement was exhibited in the churches for adoration; his mother, a poor peasant from Burgundy, came to Paris, and a crowd went out to meet her, crying, "Blessed is the womb that bore thee and the paps which thou hast sucked" (1589).

Henri IV. abandoned for the most part by the Catholics, was soon severely pressed by Mayenne, who made sure of bringing him with his hands and feet bound into Paris. Already windows were hired to see him pass. But Mayenne had to do with an adversary who never slept, and "who wore out," as the Prince of Parma said, "more boots than slippers."[1] He awaited Mayenne near Arques, in Normandy, and held 30,000 men at bay with 3,000. Then Henri, strengthened by a crowd of nobles, came in his turn to attack Paris, and pillaged the Faubourg St. Germain. In the following year (1590) he was again victorious at Ivry on the Eure over Mayenne and the Spaniards. His address to his soldiers before the battle is well known. "My friends, if you share my fortunes, I also share yours. I will either conquer or die. I beg

[1] Satire Ménippée, 1712, p. 49. The Duke of Mayenne was fat, and a heavy sleeper.

of you to keep well in line, and if you should lose your standards rally round my white plume, you will always find it in the path of honour and victory!" (Péréfixe). From Ivry he came to blockade Paris. That unhappy town, a prey to the violence of the "Sixteen" (faction des Seize), and the tyranny of the Spanish soldiers, was reduced by famine to the last extremity; bread was made of dead men's bones, mothers ate their children. The Parisians, oppressed by their defenders, found mercy only in the Prince who was besieging them. He allowed a great many useless mouths to pass out. "Must I then feed them?" said he. "Paris must not become a graveyard; I do not want to reign over the dead. I am like like the real mother in Solomon's judgment. I had rather never possess Paris at all than have her torn in pieces." Paris was not delivered until the arrival of the Prince of Parma, whose skilful manœuvres forced Henri IV. to raise the siege and who then fell back on the Netherlands.

The party of the League, however, grew weaker every day. It had been bound together by hatred of the King; it prepared its own dissolution by assassinating Henri III. It was divided into two principal factions: that of the Guises, supported chiefly by the nobles and the Parliament, and that of Spain, sustained by obscure demagogues. The latter, concentrated in the larger towns, and without military spirit, distinguished itself by persecuting the magistrates (1589-91); Mayenne repressed it, but at the same time deprived the League of its democratic energy. The Guises, however, twice beaten, twice blockaded in Paris, could not maintain their position without the help of the very Spaniards, whose agents they proscribed. Dissensions burst out at the meeting of the States-General in Paris (1593), where the pretensions of Philip II. were foiled by Mayenne, but not to his own advantage. The League, virtually dissolved from this moment, lost its ground of existence by the abjuration and especially by the absolution of Henri IV. (1593-95), and its principal stronghold by the entry of the King into the

capital (1594). He forgave everybody, and on the same evening that he entered Paris, played at cards with Madame de Montpensier. Henceforth the League was simply ridiculous, and the *Satire Ménippée* gave it the last blow. Henri redeemed his kingdom bit by bit from the hands of the nobles, who were dividing it among themselves.

In 1595 civil war made way for foreign war. The King turned the military ardour of the nation against Spain. In the memorable year 1598, Philip II. at length gave way; all his projects had failed, his resources were exhausted, his fleet almost destroyed. He renounced his pretensions on France by the Peace of Vervins, which he concluded with Henry (2nd May), and transferred the Netherlands to his daughter (6th May). Elizabeth and the United Provinces were alarmed at the Peace of Vervins, and drew closer together; but Henri IV. had perceived with more sagacity that there was nothing more to fear from Philip II., who died on the 13th of September. The King of France terminated his internal troubles at the same time as his foreign wars, by granting religious toleration and political guarantees to the Protestants (Edict of Nantes, April).

The situation of the belligerent powers after these long wars presented a striking contrast. The master of the two Indies was ruined. The exhaustion of Spain only increased under the reign of the Cardinal Duke of Lerma and the Duke of Olivarès, favourites of Philip III. and Philip IV. As Spain no longer produced merchandize to exchange for the precious metals of America, she was no longer enriched by them. Of all America's importations a twentieth part was the most that was manufactured in Spain. At Seville the 1,600 looms which manufactured wool and silk in 1536 were reduced in 1621 to 400. In one and the same year (1621) Spain drove away a million of industrious subjects (the Moors from Valencia), and was forced to grant a truce of twelve years to the United Provinces.

On the other hand, France, England, and the United

Provinces had grown rapidly in population, wealth, and importance.

From 1595 Philip II., by closing the port of Lisbon against the Dutch, obliged them to obtain Eastern commodities from India, and to found there an empire on the ruins of the Portuguese. The Republic was troubled within by the quarrels of the Stadtholder and of the Syndic (Maurice of Orange and Barneveldt), by the struggle between military power and civil liberty, between the war and the peace parties (Gomarists and Armenians), but the necessity for national defence assured the victory to the former of the two parties. The victory cost the venerable Barneveldt his life; he was beheaded at 70 years of age (1619).

After the expiration of the twelve years' truce the war became no longer a civil war, but a regular strategical war, a school for all the soldiers in Europe. The skill of the Spanish general, the celebrated Spinola, was balanced by that of Prince Frederick Henry, the brother and successor of Maurice.

France, however, rose from her ruins under Henri IV. In spite of the foibles of this great King, in spite even of the blunders, which an attentive examination may discover, in his reign, he nevertheless deserved the title to which he aspired, that of Restorer of France.[1] "He

[1] "If I wanted to gain the title of orator," he said in the Assembly of Notables at Rouen, "I should have learnt by heart some fine harangue, and have gravely pronounced it; but, gentlemen, my desires are raised to much more glorious titles, those of Liberator and Restorer of this State; as a means to which I have assembled you. You know, to your sorrow, as I do to mine, that when God called me to this throne, I found France not only, as one may say, in ruins but almost lost to Frenchmen. By the Divine grace, by prayer, by the good counsels of such of my subjects as do not follow the profession of arms; by the swords of my brave and generous nobles (among whom, faith of a gentleman, I do not consider my Princes as the most distinguished); by my own struggles and endeavours, I have saved her from being utterly lost. Let us save her in this hour of ruin; participate, O my subjects! a second time with me in this glorious work as you did the first time. I have not called you together, as my predecessors did, that you might approve

made every endeavour to embellish and render prosperous the kingdom he had conquered; he discharged superfluous troops; in the finances order succeeded to the most odious system of pillage; he gradually paid all the debts of the Crown, without grinding the people. To this day the peasants repeat his saying that he 'wanted each of his subjects to have a fowl in the pot every Sunday,' a paternal sentiment, trivially expressed. It was very admirable that, in spite of plunder and exhaustion, he was able in less than fifteen years to diminish the burden of the capitation-tax by four millions of francs; that all other taxes were diminished by one-half; and that he paid debts to the amount of a hundred millions of francs. He bought land to the value of 50,000,000 f.; all the fortresses were repaired, the magazines and arsenals filled, the high roads kept up: to the eternal glory of Sully and of the King who dared to choose a soldier to re-establish the finances of the empire, and who worked with his minister.

"Justice was reformed, and, what was much more difficult, the two religions lived peaceably side by side, at least in appearance. Agriculture was encouraged. '*Tillage and pasturage,*' said Sully, '*these are the two paps which feed France; the real mines and treasures of Peru.*' Commerce and art, although less encouraged by Sully, were still held in honour; the manufacture of gold and silver stuffs enriched Lyons and France. Henri established manufactories of high warp tapestry in wool and silk, enriched with gold; small mirrors in the Venetian taste became an article of manufacture. To him we owe the introduction of silkworms, and the cultivation of mulberry-trees, in spite of the remonstrance of Sully. Henri IV. dug the canal of Briare, which unites the

my intentions; I have assembled you to receive your counsels, to believe in them, and to follow them—in short, to put myself under your guardianship; a desire which is seldom experienced by kings, grey-beards, or by conquerors. But the violent love I feel for my people, the extreme desire that I have to add two grand titles to that of king, makes everything easy and honourable to me. My Chancellor will explain my wishes to you in detail."

Seine and the Loire. Paris was enlarged and embellished; he formed the Place Royale, and restored the bridges. The Faubourg St. Germain was not joined to the town, it was not paved; the King undertook everything. Under him was constructed the fine bridge, on which the people still contemplate his statue with tenderness. St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleaux, and especially the Louvre, were enlarged and almost entirely re-built. He gave apartments in the Louvre, under the long gallery, which was his own work, to artists of every kind, whom he encouraged as much by his presence as by rewards. Finally, he was the real founder of the Bibliothèque Royale. When Don Pedro of Toledo was sent by Philip III. as ambassador to Henri IV., he could scarcely recognise the town which he had formerly seen so wretched and so languishing. 'It is that the father was absent at that time,' said Henri; 'now that he has the charge of his children, the family prospers.'" (Voltaire.)

France had become the arbiter of Europe. Thanks to her powerful intervention, the Pope and Venice were reconciled (1607); Spain and the United Provinces at length ceased their long struggle (truce of 1609). Henri IV. was preparing to humiliate the House of Austria; if we may believe his minister, he meditated the foundation of perpetual peace and the substitution of a system of international law for the system of mere brute force which still governs the relations of the nations of Europe. All was ready, a numerous army, provisions of all kinds, the most formidable artillery in the world, and 42 millions in the cellars of the Bastille. The stroke of a dagger saved the house of Austria. The nation suspected the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Queen of France, the Duke of Epernon, the Jesuits—all profited by the crime; but it is sufficiently explained by the fanaticism which pursued throughout his reign a prince who was always suspected of being a Protestant at heart, and of wishing to make his religion triumphant in Europe. His assassination had been attempted seventeen times before Ravaillac succeeded in accomplishing it.

"On Friday, the 14th of May, 1610, sad and fatal day for France, the King, about ten in the morning, went to attend mass at the Feuillants; on his return he retired to his closet, where the Duke of Vendôme, his natural son, whom he greatly loved, came to tell him that one La Brosse, an astrologer, had informed him that the constellation under which his Majesty was born threatened him that day with a great danger, therefore, he warned him to be on his guard. To which the King replied, laughing, to M. de Vendôme, 'La Brosse is an old slyboots, who wants your money, and you are a young fool to believe him. Our days are numbered by God.' And on this the Duke of Vendôme went to warn the Queen, who entreated the King not to leave the Louvre that day. To whom he made the same answer.

"After dinner the King lay down on his bed to rest, but not being able to sleep he rose, full of anxious, melancholy thoughts, and after walking about his room for some time threw himself once more upon his bed. But again not being able to sleep he got up and asked the officer of the guard what o'clock it was. The officer answered that it was 4 o'clock, and said, 'Sire, I see that your Majesty is sad and anxious; it would be better to take some air, it would raise your spirits.' 'That is well said,' replied the King. 'Order my carriage to be got ready, I will drive to the Arsenal, to see the Duke of Sully, who is unwell, and who is to take the bath to-day.'

"As soon as the carriage was ready he left the Louvre, accompanied by the Duke of Montbazon and the Duke of Epernon, Marshal Lavardin, Roquelaure, La Force, Mirabeau, and Liancourt, his first equerry. At the same time he charged the Sieur de Vitry, Captain of his Guard, to go to the palace and hasten the preparations which were being made for the entry of the Queen; and ordered his guards to remain at the Louvre. So that the King was followed only by a small number of gentlemen on horseback, and some valets on foot. Unfortunately both doors of the carriage were open, because the weather was fine, and the King wished to see the preparations which

were being made in the town. His carriage in passing from the Rue St. Honoré into the Rue de la Ferronnerie, found on one side a cart laden with wine and on the other a cart laden with hay, which caused great embarrassment; he was forced to stop, because the street is very narrow there, on account of the shops, which are built against the wall of the cemetery of St. Innocent.

"During this delay a great many of the valets on foot passed through the cemetery, that they might run more easily and reach the end of the street before the King's carriage. Of the only two valets who remained beside the carriage, one had run forward to make way, and the other was stooping to fasten his garter, when a wretch come out of hell, called François Ravaillac, a native of Angoulême, who had had time during the confusion to notice on which side was the King, got upon the wheel of the carriage, and with a knife sharpened on both sides dealt him a blow between the second and third ribs, a little above the heart, which caused the King to cry, 'I am wounded!' But the wretch, undaunted, began again, and struck him a second time in the heart, of which the King died, without having time to do more than fetch a deep sigh. This second blow was followed by a third, so much did this parricide hate his King, but this reached only the sleeve of the Duke of Montbazon.

"Strange to say, not one of the gentlemen in the coach saw the King struck; and if this infernal monster had thrown away his knife no one would have known who had done it. But he remained on the spot, as if to exhibit himself, and to boast of this most horrible assassination."[1]

[1] L'Etoile, vol. xlviii. p. 447—450.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION, 1603—1649.[1]

James I., 1603—*Charles I.*, 1625—*War with France*, 1627—*Government without Parliament*, 1628-40—*Trial of Hampden*, 1636—*Covenant of Scotland*, 1638—*Long Parliament*, 1641—*Civil War*, 1642—*Charles surrenders to the Scots*, 1645—*Trial of Charles and abolition of Monarchy*, 1649.

WHEN James I. succeeded to Elizabeth, the long reign of that princess had exhausted the enthusiasm and the obedience of the nation. The character of the new King was not calculated to efface this impression. England beheld with a jealous eye a Scottish King, surrounded by Scotchmen, belonging, through his mother, to the House of Guise; more versed in theology than in politics,[2] and turning pale at the sight of a sword. Everything about him was displeasing to the English; his imprudent declaration in favour of the Divine Right of Kings, his project for the union of England and Scotland, and his tolerance towards the Catholics, who conspired against him (Gunpowder Plot, 1605). On the other hand, Scotland was not better pleased with his attempt to impose upon her the Anglican form of worship. James I., in the

[1] If this chapter has any interest, it owes it in a great measure to the works of Guizot and Villemain, from which I have extracted and often copied. I have found also valuable information in M. Mazure's account, although the subject of his book is in general foreign to that of this chapter. (History of the Revolution of 1688.)

[2] Henri IV. called him "Maître Jacques."

hands of his favourites, made himself by his prodigality dependent on the Parliament, which at the same time he irritated by the contrast between his weakness and pretensions.

Elizabeth's glory had consisted in raising England in her own estimation; the misfortune of the Stuarts lay in humiliating her. James gave up the part which his predecessor had played of the enemy of Spain and Chief of the Protestants in Europe. He did not declare war with Spain until 1625, and then in spite of his own wishes. He married his son to a Catholic princess (Henrietta of France).

On the accession of Charles I. (1625), the King and the people did not themselves know how strange they already were to each other. While the monarchical power triumphed on the continent, the Commons had acquired an importance in England which was irreconcilable with the ancient form of government. The abasement of the nobles under the Tudors, the division of property, the sale of ecclesiastical estates, had enriched and emboldened the mass of the people by teaching them their own strength. They sought for political guarantees. The institutions which could afford them already existed, they had been respected by the Tudors, who used them as instruments of their own despotism. But a mainspring was wanted as powerful as religion to restore life to these institutions. The Presbyterian party, the enemy from the first of the moderate Reformation which had been brought about in England found the throne an obstacle between itself and episcopacy, so the throne was attacked.

The first Parliament of Charles endeavoured, by stopping the supplies, to obtain the redressal of public grievances (1625). The second accused as the author of them the King's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham (1626). During the session of these two Parliaments, the unfortunate wars with France and Spain deprived the Government of all remains of popularity, although the latter war had been undertaken for the sake of the Protestants and the deliverance of La Rochelle (defeat of Buckingham in the Isle of

Rhé, 1627). The third Parliament, adjourning all discussions, demanded in the "Petition of Right" an explicit sanction of those public liberties, which were recognised sixty years afterwards in the "Declaration of Right." Charles finding all his demands rejected, made peace with France and Spain, and tried to govern without convoking a Parliament (1630—1638).

He no longer expected to find any resistance. His only difficulty was to reconcile the two parties who were quarrelling for the control of the despotism he had set up, the Queen and the ministers, the court and the council. The Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, who at least wanted to govern in the general interests of the King, were hurried into a number of violent and vexatious measures. Most commodities were burthened with monopolies, illegal taxes were enforced by servile judges and extraordinary tribunals; excessive punishments were inflicted for mere misdemeanours. The Government, ill-supported by the high aristocracy, turned to the Anglican clergy, who gradually invaded the province of civil power. The nonconformists were persecuted. A band of them who could no longer endure so odious a government crossed over to America.

Public indignation burst forth on the occasion of the trial of John Hampden, who chose to be imprisoned rather than pay an illegal tax of 20*s*. A month after his condemnation the Bishop of Edinburgh having tried to introduce the new Anglican liturgy in a church of that town, a frightful tumult took place; the bishop was insulted and the magistrates driven off. The Scotch swore a "covenant" by which they engaged themselves to defend against all dangers the sovereign, the religion, the laws, and the liberties of the country. Messengers carried the covenant from village to village into the most distant quarters of the kingdom, just as the burning cross had been formerly carried into the mountains to call all the vassals of a Highland chief to war. The covenanters asked for arms and money from Cardinal Richelieu; and the English army having refused to fight against its

"brothers in religion," the King was obliged to put himself at the mercy of a fifth Parliament (the Long Parliament, 1640).

The new assembly, which had so much to avenge, persecuted eagerly all the ministers of the past tyrant or as they were called "delinquents," especially Strafford, who had irritated the nation less by his real crimes than by the violence of an imperious character. He himself begged the King to sign the bill for his condemnation, and Charles had the deplorable weakness to consent. The Parliament took possession of the government, directed the expenditure of subsidies, reversed the judgments of the tribunals, and disarmed the royal authority by extorting the King's consent to its own indissolubility. A frightful massacre of the Protestants in Ireland gave Parliament the opportunity of seizing the military power; the Irish Catholics rose at this moment in every direction against the English who were established among them, and put their tyrants to the sword in the Queen's name, showing a false commission from the King. Charles, annoyed past bearing by a threatening remonstrance, repaired in person to the House of Commons to arrest five of the members. He failed in this "coup d'état," and left London to enter upon civil war. (11th January 1642.)[1]

The Parliamentary party had the advantage in numbers and enthusiasm; it held the capital, the large towns, the ports, and the fleet. The King retained the majority of the nobles, who were more accustomed to arms than the Parliamentary troops. In the northern and western counties the royalists prevailed; the parliamentarians in the southern, the midland, and the eastern—the richest and most populous. The latter counties which join on to each other formed a girdle round London.

The King soon marched on the capital, but the inde-

[1] The Queen asked for an asylum in France. "Answer to the Queen," wrote Cardinal Richelieu to the French minister, "that on these occasions, he who leaves his place at the table, loses the same." (Mazure, Pièces Justificatives.)

cisive battle of Edgehill saved the Parliamentary party. They had leisure to organise themselves. Colonel Cromwell formed, in the eastern counties, squadrons of volunteers, whose religious enthusiasm balanced the spirit of honour which animated the royalist cavaliers.

The Parliament conquered again at Newbury, and united with Scotland in a solemn covenant (1643). The King's understanding with the Highlanders and the Irish Catholics hastened this unexpected union between two countries hitherto hostile. It was asserted that a great many Irish Catholics were among the troops recalled from that island by the King; and that even women, armed with long knives and savagely accoutred, had been seen in their ranks. The Long Parliament would receive no letters from the rival Parliament which the King assembled at Oxford, and it pushed on the war with renewed vigour. Enthusiasm was carried to such lengths by some families that they deprived themselves of a meal a week and gave the value of it to Parliament; an ordinance converted this offer into a forced tax on all the inhabitants of London and its environs. Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, was defeated at Marston Moor after a desperate struggle, by the invincible obstinacy of the *Saints* of the Parliamentary army and Cromwell's soldiers, who received upon the field of battle the surname of *Ironsides*. The King lost York and all the north. The Queen escaped into France (1644).

At one moment this disaster seemed to have been repaired. In Cornwall the King forced the Parliamentary general, the Earl of Essex, to capitulate. Bands of Irish soldiers had disembarked on the coast of Scotland, and Montrose, one of the bravest of the cavaliers, appearing suddenly in their camp in Highland costume roused the northern clans, gained two battles, and scattered terror up to the very walls of Edinburgh. The King marched on London; the people shut their shops, prayed and fasted, when suddenly they heard that Charles had been defeated for the second time at Newbury. The Parliamentary troops did wonders in this battle; when they

saw the guns which they had formerly lost in Cornwall, they flung themselves upon the royal batteries, seized their pieces, and brought them back embracing them with tears of joy.

Misunderstandings now broke out among the conquerors. Power passed from the hands of the Presbyterians into those of the Independents. The latter party numbered in its ranks enthusiasts, philosophers, and libertines, but it derived its unity from one principle which all of these held—that of liberty of conscience. In spite of their crimes and their visions, this principle gave them the victory over less energetic and consistent adversaries. While the Presbyterians thought that they were preparing peace by useless negotiations with the King, the Independents seized the management of the war. Cromwell declared that the generals protracted it on purpose, and the Parliament, influenced either by public spirit or the fear of losing popularity, enacted the "*self-denying ordinance*," and excluded its own members from all civil and military employment.

Cromwell found means, by fresh successes, of exempting himself from the general rule, and the Independents defeated the royal army at Naseby, near Northampton. The papers of the King, found after the victory and read publicly in London, proved that, in spite of his protestations, a thousand times repeated, he had invited foreigners and especially Irish Catholics to his aid. At the same time Montrose, abandoned by the Highlanders who fled to their homes with their booty, was surprised and defeated. Prince Rupert, until that time famous for his impetuous courage, gave up Bristol on the first summons. The King wandered for a long time from town to town and from house to house, continually changing his disguise; he halted for a moment on Harrow hill deliberating whether he should return to his capital which he could see in the distance. At length he took refuge, more from weariness than choice, in the Scottish camp, in which the French minister had promised him protection, but where he soon found himself a prisoner. His hosts

spared him no humiliation. A Scotch minister preaching before him at Newcastle gave out the following psalm to be sung by the congregation :

> " Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
> Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

On which the King stood up, and commenced singing the psalm which begins with these words :

> " Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
> For men would me devour,"

and with one consent the whole congregation joined with him. Nevertheless, the Scotch who despaired of making him accept the covenant, delivered him to the English, who offered to pay their war-expenses.

The unhappy prince was no longer anything better than an instrument whose possession was quarrelled for by the Independents and Presbyterians until they destroyed it. The misunderstanding between the Parliament and the army increased. The King was withdrawn from the custody of the Parliamentary commissioners, and without any orders on the part of the commander-in-chief, Fairfax, he was carried off by command of Cromwell to the army.

A reaction, however, took place in favour of the King. Bands of citizens and apprentices, of discharged officers and sailors forced the doors of Westminster Hall and obliged the members to vote for the return of the King. But sixty of them took refuge with the army which at once marched upon London. Its entry into the capital was the triumph of the Independents. Cromwell, seeing the Presbyterians eclipsed, and fearing his own party, hesitated a moment whether he should not work for the re-establishment of the King. But seeing that it was impossible to trust Charles, his views became more ambitious, and he conceived the design of withdrawing the King from the army as he had carried him off from

the Parliament. Charles, alarmed by threatening notices, escaped into the Isle of Wight, where he found himself at the mercy of Cromwell.

The ruin of the King sealed Cromwell's reconciliation with the republicans. He had been obliged to repress in the army the anarchical faction of *levellers*, he had seized one of them in the middle of a regiment, and had at once condemned and executed him in the presence of the army; but he had taken care not to break for ever with so powerful a party.

He regained his influence over them by beating the Scotch, whose army came to assist in the reaction in the King's favour. The English Parliament, frightened by a victory which was so rapid and likely to turn to the advantage of the Independents, hastened once more to negotiate with the King. While Charles was disputing with its commissioners and loyally rejecting the means of escape which his servants prepared for him, the army carried him off from the Isle of Wight, and *purged* the Parliament. Colonel Pride, with a list of the proscribed members in his hand, stood at the door of the House, at the head of two regiments, and excluded with violence those who attempted to enter. Henceforth the party of the Independents was supreme, and the enthusiasm of the fanatics reached its height.

The King was brought before a court presided over by John Bradshaw, a cousin of Milton. In spite of the opposition of several members, among whom was the young and virtuous Sidney; in spite of the remonstrances of Charles, who maintained that the House of Commons could not exercise parliamentary authority without the concurrence of the King and the Peers; in spite of the intervention of the Scotch commissioners and of the ambassadors from the States-General, the King was condemned to death. When the charge was read representing that Charles Stuart was brought there to answer to an accusation of treason and other such crimes presented against him in the name of the people of England, "Not a tenth part of them," cried a voice, "where are the

people? where is their consent? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor."

A thrill passed through the assembly, every eye was turned to the gallery. "Down with the women," cried Colonel Axtel: "Soldiers, fire upon them!" Lady Fairfax was recognised as the speaker.

Before, as well as after, the sentence, the court refused to hear the King; he was dragged from the chamber amid the insults of the soldiers, and cries of "*justice! execution!*" When the death-warrant had to be signed, there was great difficulty in collecting the commissioners. Cromwell, almost the only one who was gay, bold and noisy, behaved with his usual buffoonery; after being the third to sign, he splashed with ink the face of Henry Martyn, who was sitting next to him, and who at once played him a similar trick. At last fifty-nine signatures were obtained, some of the names so ill-written, either from indecision, or on purpose, that it was almost impossible to decipher them.

The scaffold had been raised against a window in Whitehall. The King after blessing his children walked firmly towards it, with head erect, outstepping the soldiers who guarded him. Many of the bystanders dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood. Cromwell desired to see the body after it had been placed in the coffin. He considered it attentively, and raised the head with his hand, as if to make sure that it was severed from the trunk, observing, "How sound the body was, and how well made for longevity."

The House of Lords was abolished two days afterwards. A great seal was engraved, with this legend, "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored, 1648."[1]

[1] Old style. This date corresponds with February 9, 1649.

CHAPTER XII.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1618—1648.

Maximilian II., 1564-1576—*Rudolf II.*, 1576-1612—*Matthias*, 1612-1619—*Insurrection of Bohemia, beginning of Thirty Years' War—War of the Palatinate*, 1619-1623—*Intervention of Denmark*, 1625-1629—*Intervention of Sweden*, 1630—*Gustavus Adolphus wins battle of Leipsic*, 1631—*His death at Lützen*, 1632—*Assassination of Wallenstein*, 1634—*Intervention of France*, 1635—*Battle of the Downs*, 1640—*Battles of Fribourg, Nordlingen, Lens—Treaty of Westphalia*, 1648.

THE Thirty Years' War was the last struggle which marked the progress of the Reformation. This war, whose direction and object were equally undetermined, may be divided into four distinct portions, in which the Elector Palatine, Denmark, Sweden, and France played in succession the principal part. It became more and more complicated, until it spread over the whole of Europe.

It was prolonged indefinitely by various causes. I. The intimate union between the two branches of the House of Austria and of the Catholic party—their opponents, on the other hand, were not homogeneous. II. The inaction of England, the tardy intervention of France, the poverty of Denmark and Sweden, &c.

The armies which took part in the Thirty Years' War were no longer feudal militias, they were permanent armies, although their sovereigns were incapable of supporting them. They lived at the expense of the countries which they laid waste. The ruined peasant turned soldier and sold himself to the first comer. The

war as it continued formed armies which belonged to no country, an immense military force which spread over all Germany, and encouraged the most gigantic projects both in princes and private individuals.

Germany once more became the centre of European politics. The first struggle between the Reformation and the House of Austria was renewed there after an interval of sixty years. Every power took part in it.

The natural result would have been to alter the face of all Europe, only one important change, however, can be perceived: France succeeded to the supremacy of the House of Austria: but the influence of the Reformation diminished from this period, and the Treaty of Westphalia introduced a new era.

Whether from fear of the Turks, or from the personal moderation of its princes, the German branch of the House of Austria followed, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, a policy which was entirely opposed to that of Philip II. The tolerance of Ferdinand I. and of Maximilian II. favoured the progress of Protestantism in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; Maximilian was even suspected of being a Protestant at heart (1555—1576). The feeble Rudolph II., who succeeded him, possessed neither his talent nor his moderation. While he shut himself up with Tycho Brahe to study astrology and alchemy, the Protestants of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia made common cause. Rudolph's brother, the Archduke Matthias, favoured them, and forced the Emperor to yield to him Austria and Hungary (1607—1609).

The Empire was as much disturbed as the hereditary States of the House of Austria. Aix-la-Chapelle and Donauwörth, where the Protestants were masters, were placed under the ban of the Empire. The Elector-Archbishop of Cologne, who wished to secularize his states, was dispossessed. The succession to Cleves and Juliers which came into question at this time complicated still further the situation of Germany. Protestant and Catholic princes, the Elector of Brandenburg, the

Duke of Neuburg, the Duke of Zweibrücken, and others besides, pretended to it. The Empire was split up into two leagues. Henri IV., who favoured the Protestants, was about to enter Germany and take advantage of the state of affairs to humiliate the House of Austria, when he was assassinated (1610). The Thirty Years' War was none the less terrible for being postponed.

Matthias, after obliging Rudolph to give up Bohemia to him, succeeded him in the Empire (1612—19), and also in all the difficulties of his position. The Spaniards and the Dutch occupied the duchies of Cleves and of Juliers. The Bohemians, led by the Count of Thurn, rose in defence of their religion. Thurn, at the head of some deputies from the estates of Bohemia, marched into the council-chamber, and the four imperial commissioners were thrown into the ditch of the castle of Prague (1618). The Bohemians pretended that it was an ancient custom in their country to throw prevaricating ministers out of the window. They raised troops, and not choosing to recognise the pupil of the Jesuits, Ferdinand II. of Austria, as the successor to Matthias, they gave their crown to Frederick V., the Elector Palatine, son-in-law of the King of England and nephew of the Stadtholder of Holland (*Palatinate period of the Thirty Years' War*, 1619—1623). At the same time the Hungarians, equally rejecting Ferdinand, elected for their King the Waiwode of Transylvania, Bethlem Gabor. Ferdinand, besieged for a short time in Vienna by the Bohemians, was supported by the Duke of Bavaria, by the Catholic League in Germany, and by Spain. Frederick, who was a Calvinist, was abandoned by the Lutheran Union: while James I. of England, his father-in-law, contented himself with negotiating in his favour. Attacked in the very capital of Bohemia, he lost the battle of Prague through his own negligence or cowardice. He was dining quietly in the castle, while his soldiers were dying for him in the plain (1621). In spite of the bravery of Mansfeld and other partizans, who ravaged Germany in his name, he was driven out of the Palatinate; the Protestant

Union was dissolved, and the electoral dignity of the Palatine transferred to the Duke of Bavaria.

Danish period, 1625—1629.—The states of Lower Saxony, threatened by the Emperor with a speedy restitution of the ecclesiastical property they had confiscated, called to the assistance of Germany those northern princes who shared their religious interests. The young King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, was at this time occupied by a glorious war against Poland, the ally of Austria. The King of Denmark, Christian IV., undertook the defence of Saxony. In this new war, Ferdinand II. wished not to depend upon the Catholic League, of which the Duke of Bavaria was chief, and whose troops were commanded by the celebrated Tilly. Count Wallenstein, an officer of the Emperor, offered to raise an army for him, if he might be allowed to carry it to 50,000 men. He kept his word. All the adventurers who wanted to live by pillage flocked round him, and he laid down the law equally to the friends and to the enemies of the Emperor. Christian IV. was beaten at Lutter. Wallenstein subdued Pomerania, and received from the Emperor the possessions of the two Dukes of Mecklenburgh, and the title of *General of the Baltic.* If the Swedes had not thrown some succours into the fortress, he would have taken the strong town of Stralsund (1628). All the north trembled. In order to divide his enemies the Emperor granted an humiliating peace to Denmark (1629). He ordered the Protestants to restore all the ecclesiastical estates secularised since 1555. Then Wallenstein's army fell once more upon Germany, and trampled upon her without restraint; many states were taxed with enormous contributions; the distress of the inhabitants was extreme, some of them disinterred the dead to satisfy their hunger; dead bodies were found with their mouths still full of raw weeds.

Germany was rescued by Sweden and France. Cardinal Richelieu freed the hands of the Swedes by arranging for them a peace with Poland. He disarmed the Em-

peror by persuading him that he would not be able to secure the election of his son as King of the Romans unless he sacrificed Wallenstein to the resentment of Germany. And as soon as the Emperor was deprived of his best general, Gustavus Adolphus fell upon the Empire (1630).

Ferdinand II. at first was not much disturbed, he said that the "Snow King" would melt as he penetrated into the south, As yet the world knew not the worth of those men of iron—that heroic and pious army—as compared with the mercenary troops of Germany. A little while after the arrival of Gustavus, Torquato Conti, one of the Emperor's generals, on asking for a truce on account of the severe cold, received as an answer from Gustavus that the Swedes knew not what winter meant. The conqueror's genius disconcerted the German routine by an impetuous system of tactics which sacrificed everything to the rapidity of movement, and was prodigal of life in order to shorten war. His plan was to make himself master of the strong places along the principal rivers, to render Sweden safe by closing the Baltic to the Imperialists, to detach all their allies, and to surround Austria before attacking her. If he had marched straight upon Vienna, Germany would have regarded him as a foreign conqueror: by driving out the Imperialists from the Northern and Western States which they were crushing, he appeared in the light of a champion of the Empire against the Emperor. Tilly, who first encountered him, could not stop the torrent; he only drew down the execration of Europe on the armies of the Empire by the sack of Magdeburg. Saxony and Brandenburg, which would have liked to remain neutral, were drawn into the alliance with Gustavus by the rapidity of his victories. He defeated Tilly at the bloody battle of Leipsic in 1631. While the Saxons were preparing to attack Bohemia, he defeated the Duke of Lorraine, penetrated into Alsace and subdued the electorates of Treves, Mayence, and the Rhine, which Richelieu would have allowed to remain neutral; but

Gustavus would have either friends or enemies. Finally Bavaria was invaded at the same time as Bohemia; Tilly died in defending the line of the Lech, and Austria was left unprotected on all sides.

Ferdinand was then obliged to have recourse to the proud general whom he had dismissed. For a long time Wallenstein had the Emperor and the Catholics at his feet; "He was too happy," he said, "in his retirement." His philosophical moderation could only be overcome by giving him power equal to that of the Emperor.

At this price he saved Bohemia and marched upon Nuremberg to stop the progress of Gustavus. It was a grand spectacle for Europe to see these two invincible generals encamped for three months face to face, hesitating to make use of an opportunity which had been so long watched for. At length Wallenstein marched upon Saxony, and was joined near Lützen by the King of Sweden. Gustavus commenced the attack. After several charges, the King, deceived by the fog, threw himself in front of the enemy's ranks, and fell struck by two balls. The Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, who afterwards joined the Imperialists, was behind him at the fatal moment, and was accused of his death. The buff jerkin worn by the Swedish hero was sent to Vienna (1632). All Europe wept for Gustavus, but perhaps her tears were out of place. He may have died at a moment which was fortunate for his renown. He had saved Germany and had not had time to oppress her. He had not restored the Palatinate to the despoiled Elector; he intended Mayence for his Chancellor, Oxenstierna; he had manifested a liking for Augsburg which would have become the seat of a new empire.

While the skilful Oxenstierna carried on the war, and declared himself at Heilbronn Chief of the League of the circles of Franconia, Swabia, and the Rhine, Wallenstein remained in Bohemia in formidable inaction. It seemed as if Gustavus had been working in the interests of his rival when he subdued the Imperial party

throughout Germany. He had served him both by his victories and by his death. "Germany," said Wallenstein, "could not hold two such men as we were." After the death of Gustavus he reigned alone. Secluded in his palace at Prague, with a royal retinue, surrounded by a crowd of adventurers who had attached themselves to his fortunes, he watched his opportunity. This terrible man, who never laughed, who addressed his soldiers only to make their fortunes or pronounce their death-warrant, commanded the attention of all Europe. The King of France called him his cousin, and Richelieu advised him to make himself King of Bohemia. It was time for the Emperor to come to a decision—he chose that of Henry III. with regard to the Duke of Guise. Wallenstein was assassinated at Egra, and Ferdinand, in memory of his former services, ordered 3,000 masses to be said for the benefit of his soul (1634).

The Elector of Saxony had however made peace with the Emperor, and the Swedes were not strong enough to maintain themselves unsupported in Germany. France, in her turn, had to come down into the field of battle.

French period, 1635—1648.—Richelieu, who at that time governed France, had found her abandoned to Spanish influence, disturbed by the Princes and the nobles, by the Queen-Mother, by the Protestants (Government of Mary of Medicis, 1610—1617; of the favourite, the Duke de Luynes, 1617—1621). He adopted the system of Henri IV., with this difference, that he had no anterior obligation, no motive of gratitude to force him to keep terms with the Protestants. He took from them La Rochelle by throwing across the sea a stone dyke more than half a mile long, as Alexander did at the siege of Tyre; he conquered, disarmed, and nevertheless reassured them. (1627—28.)

His next measures were against the princes and nobles. He turned the mother and brother of the King out of France, and struck off the heads of a Marillac and a Montmorency (1630—32). He had his own prison in

his house at Ruel; where he caused his enemies to be condemned and afterwards turned their judges into ridicule. There remained for him only to gild these internal victories with the glory of foreign conquests (1635).

First he purchased Bernard of Weimar, the best pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, with his army. He allied himself with the Dutch to share the Spanish portion of the Low Countries, whilst at the other end of France he set himself to recover Roussillon; the alliance with the Duke of Savoy secured for him a passage into Italy. France gained more glory than solid advantage in Italy, for she was herself invaded at this time on the side of the Low Countries. But her allies, the Dutch, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Battle of the Downs (1639). Bernard of Weimar took the four forest towns (Waldshut, Luffemberg, Seckingen and Rhineld), Fribourg and Brisach, and gained four victories beneath their walls. He forgot that he had already sold his conquest to France, and was about to make himself independent when he died—as opportunely for Richelieu as Wallenstein for Ferdinand.

Everything became easy for the French from the moment that the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal reduced Spain to a defensive war. The House of Braganza ascended the throne of Portugal with the applause of all Europe (1640). The French, already victorious in Italy, took Arras and Thionville in the Netherlands. The great Condé gained the battle of Rocroy five days after the accession of Louis XIV.; a success which reassured France, deprived by death of Louis XIII. and Richelieu.

The war had then for the second time changed its character. To the fanaticism of Tilly and his master, Ferdinand II., to the revolutionary genius of Wallenstein and Weimar, had succeeded skilful tacticians, such as Piccolomini and Merci, generals of the Emperor, and the pupils of Gustavus Adolphus, Banner, Torstenson, and Wrangel. As war had become a profession for so many, peace became more and more difficult. France, entirely occupied in securing her conquests of Lorraine and

Alsace, refused to join Sweden against Austria. At one time Torstenson hoped to succeed without the assistance of France. This paralytic general, who astonished Europe with the rapidity of his movements, had renewed the glory of Gustavus Adolphus at Leipsic (1642); in the Danes he had struck down the secret friends of the Emperor; an alliance with the Transylvanians permitted him to penetrate at length into Austria (1645). The defection of the Transylvanians and the death of Torstenson saved the Emperor.

Negotiations, however, had been opened in 1636; and the accession of Ferdinand III. to the Empire appeared likely to favour them (1637). Although the intervention of the Pope, of Venice, and of the Kings of Denmark, Poland, and England had been rejected, the preliminaries of peace were signed in 1642. The death of Richelieu reawakened the hopes of the House of Austria, and postponed the peace.

The victories of Condé at Fribourg, Nordlingen, and Lens (1644—45—48), that of Turenne and the Swedes at Sommershausen, and finally the seizure of the Lesser Prague by Wrangel (1648), had to take place before the Emperor could make up his mind to sign the Treaty of Westphalia, after which the war continued only between France, Spain, and Portugal. Its principal Articles were these:—

I. The Peace of Augsbourg (1555) was confirmed, and extended to the Calvinists.

II. The Sovereignty of the different Germanic States in the whole extent of their territory was formally recognized, as well as their rights in the general diets of the Empire. These rights were guaranteed, *at home*, by the composition of the Imperial Chambers and the Aulic Council, which were in future to be composed of equal numbers of Protestants and Catholics; *abroad*, by the mediation of France and Sweden.

III. Indemnities were granted to several states; and in order to discharge them many ecclesiastical possessions were secularised. *France* obtained Alsace, the Three

Bishoprics, Philipsburg, and Pignerol — the keys of Germany and Piedmont. *Sweden*, part of Pomerania, Bremen, Werden, Wismar, &c.; three votes in the diets of the Empire and five million crowns. *The Elector of Brandenburg*, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, &c. *Saxony*, *Mecklenburgh*, and *Hesse-Cassel* were also indemnified.

IV. Frederick V.'s son recovered the lower Palatinate of the Rhine (the higher Palatinate remained Bavarian); an 8th Electorate was created in his favour.

V. The United Provinces were recognised as independent of Spain; the United Provinces and the Swiss Cantons as independent of the German Empire.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EAST AND THE NORTH IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

§ I. Turkey, Hungary. 1566—1648.

The reign of Solyman the Magnificent had been the culminating point of Ottoman glory. Under him the Turks were as formidable on land as on sea; they entered into the politics of Europe by their alliance with France against the House of Austria. Solyman endeavoured to give a system of legislation to his people; he collected the maxims and ordinances of his predecessors, filled up their deficiencies, and organized the civil service of the state. He embellished Constantinople by restoring the ancient aqueduct, whence the water flows into 800 fountains; he founded the Mosque Souleimanieh, which contains four colleges, a hospital for the poor, another for the sick, and a library containing 2,000 manuscripts. The Turkish language was ennobled by the admixture of Arabic and Persian; Solyman himself made verses in both languages. In his old age the Sultan was entirely governed by his wife Roxelana, who induced him to put to death all the children of his first marriage. The Empire, exhausted by war, seemed to grow old with its Sultan under the influence of the Seraglio. Solyman prepared its decline by excluding the members of the Imperial family from all military commands.

Under his indolent successor, Selim II. (1566—74) the Turks took Cyprus from the Venetians, who were

ill-seconded by Spain; but they were defeated in the Gulf of Lepanto by the combined fleets of Philip II., of Venice, and of the Pope, under the command of Don John of Austria. After this check, the Turks owned that God who had given them the empire of the earth had left that of the sea to the infidels.

Under Amurath III., Mahomet III., and Achmet I. (1574—1617), the Turks kept up with variable success long wars against the Persians and Hungarians. The Janissaries, who had disturbed the reigns of these princes with mutinies, put their successors, Mustapha and Othoman, to death (1617—1623). The Empire raised its head again under the intrepid Amurath IV., who occupied the turbulent spirit of the Janissaries in foreign parts, took Bagdad, and intervened in the troubles of India. Under the imbecile Ibrahim the Turks, following the impulse given to them by Amurath, took Candia from the Venetians.

Hungary.—Since 1562 this kingdom had been divided between the House of Austria and the Turks. Continual wars arose in consequence of this partition. The sovereignty of Transylvania was another cause of war between Austria and the Porte. Hungary was not more tranquil at home. The Austrian princes, hoping to increase their power by restoring uniformity in religion to Hungary, persecuted the Protestants and violated the privileges of the nation. The Hungarians rose under Rudolph II., Ferdinand II., and Ferdinand III.; and the princes of Transylvania, Stephen Botschkai, Bethlem Gabor, George Ragocki, offered themselves successively as chiefs to the malcontents. By the pacification of Vienna (1606), and of Linz (1645), by the decrees of the diets of Ædenbourg and of Presburg (1647), the Kings of Hungary were forced to grant the public exercise of their religion to the Protestants, and to respect the national privileges.

§ II. POLAND, PRUSSIA, RUSSIA. 1505—1648.

Poland overcame the Teutonic order, a German power which had pushed Edward from Germany into the midst of the Sclavonian States, and was ill-supported by the Emperor; but on the other hand she neglected to protect the Bohemians and Hungarians in their revolts against Austria.

Close as were the relations of the two great nations of Sclavonic origin with each other, neither had much to do with the Scandinavian States before the revolutions in Livonia entangled them in a common war, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. Livonia then became to the north of Europe what the Milanese had been to the south.

States of Poland and Russia in the first half of the sixteenth century.—Accession of Wasili IV., *Ivanowitch*, (1505), and of Sigismund I. (1506). The feeble Wasili had the imprudence to break with the Tartars of the Crimea, who had served Ivan III. so well; he accomplished the subjection of Plescof, and took Smolensk from the Lithuanians, but he was beaten by them in the same year (1514). He allied himself with the Teutonic order against the Poles, but could not prevent Prussia from submitting to Poland. The Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, embraced Lutheranism (1525), and turned Prussia into a secular state or Duchy, which was granted to him in fief by Sigismund I.

1533.—Accession of Ivan IV. *Wasiliewitch* in Russia; 1548, of Sigismund II., surnamed Augustus, in Poland.

During the minority of Ivan IV., the power passed from the hands of the Regent Helena into those of several of the nobles who supplanted each other in turn. 1547. Under the influence of the Czarina Anastasia, Ivan IV. at first moderated the violence of his character. He completed the subjection of the Tartars by the final annexation of Kasan, and by the conquest of Astracan (1552—54).

1552—1583. *War in Livonia.*—The order of The Sword which had vanquished the Russians in 1502, was independent of the Teutonic order after 1521. But about this period all the northern powers claimed Livonia. Ivan IV. having invaded her in 1558, the Grand Master Gotthard Kettler preferred to unite her to Poland by the Treaty of Wilna (1561), while creating himself Duke of Courland. The King of Denmark, Frederick II., who was master of the island of Œsel and of some of the districts, and the King of Sweden, Eric XIV., who was invited by the town of Revel and the nobles of Esthonia, took part in this war, which was continued by land and on sea.

The Czar encountered two obstacles in his project of conquest: the jealousy of the Russians against foreigners, whom he himself preferred, and the fear which his cruelty inspired in the Livonians. He trampled upon all his subjects belonging either to the commercial classes, or to the nobility, who were capable of resisting him (1570), and afterwards invaded Livonia in the name of the King of Denmark's brother (1575). But Poland and Sweden united against the Czar, who made peace with Poland by giving up to her Livonia, and concluded a truce with Sweden, which retained possession of Carilia (1582—83). He died in 1584.

[Code of Ivan IV., 1550, containing a system of all the ancient laws. Gratuitous justice. All the holders of lands subjected to military service. Establishment of military pay. Institution of a permanent militia called the Strelitz.—Commerce with Tartary, Turkey, and Lithuania. The wars of Livonia and Lithuania closing the Baltic, the Russians could communicate with the rest of Europe only by sailing round Sweden along the Northern Ocean. 1555, the Englishman, Chancellor, sent by Queen Mary to discover a northern passage to India, lands on the spot on which Archangel was afterwards founded. Regular commerce between England and Russia until the civil wars in Russia, 1605. 1577—81, discovery of Siberia.]

The dynasty of the Jagellons was extinguished in 1572, by the death of Sigismund Augustus; that of Rurik in 1598 by the death of the Czar Fedor I., son and successor of Ivan IV. From these two events resulted, directly or indirectly, two long and bloody wars, which again set all the northern powers at variance; the object of the one was the succession of Sweden; of the other, that of Russia. The former, which lasted sixty-seven years (1593—1660), was twice interrupted: first by the latter war (1609—1619), and afterwards by the Thirty Years' War (1629—1655).

The throne of Poland became purely elective. 1573—1575, Henri of Valois. He set foot in the kingdom only to sign the first *pacta conventa*. 1575—1587, Stephen Batthori, Prince of Transylvania. His accession put off the moment when Poland was to lose her importance. He restrained his own subjects (Dantzic and Riga, 1578—1586); he humbled Russia and Denmark (1582—85). —1587, Sigismund III., son of John III., King of Sweden, elected King of Poland, found himself, on succeeding to his father's crown, in a difficult position. Sweden was Protestant; Poland Catholic; and both countries alike laid claim to Livonia. Sigismund's uncle (Charles IX.) chief of the Lutheran party in Sweden, prevailed over him by policy (1595), as well as by arms (1598). Hence arose a war between the two nations, which continued until they made Russia their battle-field. The usurpation of Boris Godunow, and the imposture of several false claimants, who pretended to be heirs to the throne of Moscow, gave the Poles and Swedes hopes either of dismembering Russia, or of setting one of their own princes on her throne. Their hopes were defeated. A Russian (1613—1645), Michael Federowitsch, founded the House of Romanow, —(1616—1618), Russia ceded Ingria and Russian Carilia to Sweden, and the territories of Smolensko, of Tschernigow, and of Novogorod-Severkvi to Poland, and lost all communication with the Baltic.

1620—1629. War was renewed between Poland and Sweden until the period when Gustavus Adolphus took

part in the Thirty Years' War. (1629, a truce of six years prolonged in 1635, for twenty-six years more).

Sigismund III. and his successor Ladislas VII. (1632—1648), sustained long wars against the Turks, the Russians, and the Cossacks of Ukraine.

Poland yielded to Sweden the position of chief power in the north; but she preserved her superiority over Russia, whose development had been retarded by civil war.

Prussia.—1563, Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburgh, obtained from the King of Poland the joint investiture of the fief of Prussia. In 1618, on the death of the Prussian Duke Albert Frederick (son of Albert of Brandenburg), his son-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, succeeded him in his Duchy. 1614—1666, the electoral branch acquired likewise part of the succession to Juliers through the right of Anne, daughter of the Duke of Prussia, Albert Frederick, and wife of John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg. The son of the latter, Frederick William, founded the real greatness of Prussia.

§ III. Denmark and Sweden.

In the 16th century these two States were each a prey to internal troubles and carried on protracted wars, which developed their energies and prepared them for the Thirty Years' War. Sweden was already anticipating the heroic part which she sustained throughout the 18th century.

The lassitude of Denmark and the internal troubles of Sweden brought to an end in the peace of Stettin (1570) the long quarrel which had continued between the two kingdoms ever since the Union of Calmar. Denmark was at peace during the long reigns of Frederick II. (1559—1588) and of Christian IV., until the moment when the latter, who was more skilful as an administrator than as a general, compromised the tranquillity of Denmark by attacking Gustavus Adolphus (1611—1613), and taking part in the Thirty Years' War (1625).

The unworthy son of Gustavus Vasa Eric XIV. (1560) had been dispossessed by his brother John III. (1560—1592), who undertook to re-establish the Catholic religion in Sweden. John's son, Sigismund, King of Sweden and Poland, was supplanted by his uncle, Charles IX. (1604), father of Gustavus Adolphus. (See above, the article *Poland.*)

CHAPTER XIV.

§ I. Discoveries and Colonies of the Modern World.

Principal motives which have induced Modern Nations to seek new countries, and to establish themselves in them:— (1) A warlike and adventurous spirit, the desire of acquisition by means of conquest or pillage. (2) Commercial spirit, desire of acquisition by the legitimate means of trade. (3) Religious spirit, desire to convert idolatrous nations to the Christian faith, or to escape from religious troubles.

The *foundation of the principal modern colonies* was due to the five nations of the extreme west, who have successively obtained the empire of the sea; to the Portuguese and Spaniards (15th and 16th centuries); to the Dutch and the French (17th century), finally to the English (17th and 18th centuries). The Spanish colonists had, in the beginning, for their principal object, mining operations; the objects of the Portuguese were commerce, and raising money by means of tribute; the Dutch were essentially commercial, and the English both commercial and agricultural.

The principal difference between the ancient and modern colonies is that the ancient were united to their mother-country only by the ties of relationship; the modern are considered always as the offspring of their parent, who forbade them in early times any intercourse with foreigners.

Direct results of the discoveries and establishments of modern colonies.—Commerce changed its form and direction. Commerce by sea was generally substituted for commerce by land; the whole of the trade of the world passed from the shores of the Mediterranean to the western coasts. The *indirect results* are innumerable; one of the most remarkable was the development of the maritime powers.

Principal directions of Oriental commerce during the Middle Ages.—In the first half of the Middle Ages the Greeks carried on their commerce with India through Egypt, afterwards by the Euxine and Caspian seas; in the second half the Italians carried theirs through Syria and the Persian Gulf, and afterwards through Egypt.

Crusades.—Expeditions of Rubruquis, of Marco Polo, and John Mandeville, from the 11th to the 14th century. In the beginning of the 14th century the Spaniards discovered the Canaries.

§ II. Discoveries and Establishments of the Portuguese. 1412—1582.

It was the destiny of the most western nation in Europe to begin the series of discoveries which have extended European civilization throughout the world. The Portuguese, closely pressed by the power of Spain, and always at war with the Moors, from whom they had wrested their country, naturally turned their ambition towards Africa. After this crusade, which lasted through several centuries, the ideas of the conquerors were extended; they conceived the project of seeking out new infidel nations to convert and subdue. A thousand ancient tales inflamed their curiosity, their bravery, and their avarice; they longed to see those mysterious countries which nature had filled with monsters, and in which gold lay like seed upon the ground. The infant Don Henry, the third son of John I., favoured the enterprise of the nation. He passed his life at Sagra, near Cape St. Vincent, whence, with his eyes fixed on the Southern Seas,

he directed the adventurous pilots who were the first to visit those unknown shores. Cape Horn, fatal boundary of the ancient navigators, had already been doubled; beyond it they discovered Madeira (1412—1413). After doubling Cape Bajador and Cape de Verde, they found the Azores (1448), and the formidable line where the air was supposed to burn like fire was crossed. When they had penetrated beyond Sénégal they saw with astonishment that the men who were dark on the north bank became black on the south side of the river. When they reached Congo they found a new heaven and new stars (1484). But the spirit of enterprise was still more powerfully stimulated by the gold that was discovered in Guinea.

The stories of the ancient Phœnicians who pretended to have sailed round Africa were now no longer despised, and men hoped that by following the same route they might reach the East Indies. While King John II. sent two noblemen to India by land (Covillam and Payva), Bartholomew Diaz touched the promontory at the southern extremity of Africa, and called it the Cape of Storms; but the king, henceforth certain of discovering the route to the Indies, surnamed it the Cape of Good Hope (1486).

It was then that the discovery of the New World struck the Portuguese with astonishment, and redoubled their energy. But the two nations might have disputed for the empire of the sea, recourse was therefore had to the mediation of the Pope. Alexander VI. divided the two New Worlds—all that lay to the east of the Azores was to belong to Portugal; and all that lay to the West was given to Spain. A line was traced across the globe which marked the limits of these reciprocal rights, and was called the *line of demarcation*. New discoveries soon displaced this line.

At length the King of Portugal, Emmanuel the Fortunate, gave the command of a fleet to the famous Vasco da Gama (1497—98). He received from the prince the account of Covillam's expedition: he took with him ten men who had been condemned to death, whose lives might be risked in an emergency, and who by their daring might

earn their pardon. He spent a night in prayer in the chapel of the Virgin, and partook of the Holy Sacrament on the day before he set out. The people accompanied him in tears to the shore. A splendid convent has been founded on the spot whence Gama sailed.

The fleet was approaching the terrible Cape when the crew, frightened by the tempestuous ocean and fearing famine, revolted against Gama. Nothing, however, could stop him; he put the leaders into irons, and seizing the rudder, doubled the extremity of Africa. Still greater dangers awaited him on its eastern coast, which as yet had been visited by no European vessel. The Moors, to whom the commerce of Africa and India belonged, laid traps for these new comers who came to share their spoil. But they were frightened by the Portuguese artillery, and Gama, crossing the gulf of 700 leagues which separates Africa from India, reached Calicut 13 months after his departure from Lisbon.

On landing on these unknown shores, Vasco forbade his men to follow him, or to come to his rescue if they learnt that he was in danger. In spite of the conspiracies of the Moors he forced the alliance of Portugal on Zamora.

A new expedition soon followed on the heels of the first, under the orders of Alvarès Cabral. The admiral received a hat blessed by the Pope from the hands of the king. After passing the Cape de Verde, he stood out to sea, sailed to the west, and saw a new, rich, and fertile land—the reign of eternal spring: it was Brazil, the nearest point to Africa of the American Continent. There are only 30 degrees of longitude between this country and Mount Atlas; it was naturally the first to be discovered (1500).

(1501—1515).—The ability of Cabral, of Gama, and of Almeida—the first Portuguese Viceroy in India—disconcerted the efforts of the Moors, set the natives at variance, and armed Cochin against Calicut and Cananor. In Africa, Quiloa and Sofala received their laws from the Europeans. But the principal founder of the Empire of the Portuguese in India was the brave Albuquerque; he took, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, Ormuz, the

most brilliant and polished town in Asia (1507). The King of Persia, on whom it depended, asked the Portuguese to pay tribute; Albuquerque pointed to his cannon-balls and grenades: "This," said he to the ambassadors, "is the coin in which the King of Portugal pays tribute."

Venice, meanwhile, beheld the sources of her wealth drying up; for the route by Alexandria was beginning to be neglected. The Sultan of Egypt ceased to receive duty upon eastern commodities. The Venetians, in league with him, sent to Alexandria planks for shipbuilding which were transported to Suez, and thus enabled him to construct a fleet (1508), which at first obtained some advantages over the Portuguese, who were dispersed; but it was afterwards beaten as well as the other expeditions which followed each other down the Red Sea. To prevent fresh attacks Albuquerque proposed to the King of Abyssinia to turn the course of the Nile, a measure which would have changed Egypt into a desert. He made Goa the head-quarters of the Portuguese establishment in India (1510). Their occupation of Malacca and Ceylon gave the Portuguese the dominion over the vast ocean of which the northern boundary is the Gulf of Bengal (1511—1518). But the conqueror died in poverty and disgrace at Goa, and with him disappeared all justice and humanity among the Portuguese. Long after his death the Indians used to visit the tomb of the great Albuquerque, praying to be delivered from the oppressions of his successors.

The Portuguese after introducing themselves into China and Japan (1517—42), kept for some time the whole maritime commerce of Asia in their hands. Their empire extended to the coast of Guinea, Melinda, Mozambique, and Sofala, to those of the two peninsulas of India, to Malacca, Ceylon, and the islands of Sunda. But in all this vast extent of country they held only a chain of counting-houses and fortresses. The decline of their colonies was accelerated by various causes; (1) the distance of their conquests; (2) the scanty population of Portugal, out of proportion to the extent of her establishments, for the vanity of the nation prevented the fusion

of conquerors and conquered; (3) the love for plunder which was soon substituted for the spirit of commerce; (4) disorders in the administration; (5) crown monopolies; (6 and lastly), the Portuguese were satisfied with transporting merchandise to Lisbon instead of distributing it over Europe. Sooner or later they were to be supplanted by more industrious rivals.

Their decline was retarded by two heroes, Juan de Castro (1545—48) and Atäides (1568—72). The former had to fight the Indians and Turks united. The King of Cambay received from Solyman the Great engineers, foundries, and all the means of European warfare. Nevertheless, Castro succeeded in delivering the citadel of Diu, and held a triumph at Goa after the fashion of the heroes of antiquity. He raised a loan in his own name from the citizens of Goa, and gave them his mustachios in pledge. He expired in the arms of St. Francis Xavier in 1548. Only three reals were found upon this man who had handled all the treasures of India.

During the government of Atäides there was a general rising of the Indians against the Portuguese; he faced them all round, defeated the army of the King of Cambay, 100,000 strong, beat Zamora and made him swear to have no more ships of war. Even while he was being pressed at Goa he refused to abandon his more distant possessions, and despatched the vessels which carried every year the tributes of India to Lisbon.

After him everything declined rapidly. The division of its Indian possessions into three governments enfeebled still more the power of Portugal. After the death of Sebastian, and of his successor the Cardinal Henry (1581), Portuguese India shared the fate of Portugal, and passed into the incompetent hands of the Spaniards (1582), until the Dutch came to relieve them from the cares of this vast Empire.

CHAPTER XV.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

CONQUESTS AND ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE SPANIARDS IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES.

"THE discovery of America," says Voltaire, "is the greatest event which has ever taken place in this world of ours, one half of which had hitherto been unknown to the other. All that until now appeared extraordinary seems to disappear before this sort of new creation.

"Columbus, struck by the achievements of the Portuguese, conceived that something still greater might be effected, and from the inspection of a map of this hemisphere, believed that there must be another, and that it would be discovered by sailing continually towards the west. His courage was equal to his ability, and it was tried to the uttermost by the necessity of combating the prejudices of the princes of that time. His country, Genoa, treated him as a visionary, and lost the only opportunity which was offered her of distinction. Henry VII. of England, too fond of money to risk any in such a noble undertaking, would not listen to the brother of Columbus. Juan II., of Portugal, whose eyes were turned exclusively in the direction of Africa, refused to listen to Columbus. He could not address himself to France where the navy was always neglected, and whose affairs were in the greatest possible confusion during the minority of Charles VIII. The Emperor Maximilian had neither harbours for a fleet, money to equip one, nor sufficient magnani-

mity for such an enterprise. Venice might have undertaken it, but whether it was that the aversion of the Genoese to the Venetians prevented Columbus from addressing himself to the rival of his country, or that Venice could imagine nothing greater than her commerce with Alexandria and the Levant, the only hope of Columbus was in Spain. However, it was not until after spending eight years in solicitations that the Court of Isabella consented to accept the benefit which the Genoese citizen wished to confer upon her. The Spanish Court was poor; the Prior Perez and two merchants called Pinzone were obliged to advance 17,000 ducats to defray the expenses of the expedition. Columbus received a patent from the Court and sailed at length from the port of Palos in Andalusia, with three small vessels and the empty title of Admiral.

"From the Canaries, where he anchored, he took only thirty-three days to discover the first American island (October 12, 1492); and during this short voyage he had to bear more murmurs on the part of his crew than he had borne refusals from the sovereigns of Europe. This island, about a thousand leagues from the Canaries, was called San Salvador; immediately afterwards he discovered the other islands, Lucayès, Cuba, and Hispaniola, now called St. Domingo. Ferdinand and Isabella were greatly surprised at seeing him return seven months afterwards with Americans from Hispaniola, as well as some of the curiosities of the country, especially gold, with which he presented them. The King and Queen made him sit down covered in their presence like a grandee of Spain; they named him chief Admiral and Viceroy of the New World. He was treated everywhere as an exceptional being, a man sent from God. Then everyone wanted to share in his enterprise, to embark under his flag. He set sail again with a fleet of seventeen vessels (1493). He found more new islands, the Antilles and Jamaica. Admiration had succeeded to distrust on the occasion of his first voyage; but envy took the place of admiration on his return from the second

"He was Admiral, Viceroy, and might add to his titles that of the benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Nevertheless, the judges who had actually been sent with the fleet to watch over his conduct brought him back to Spain. The people, hearing that Columbus had arrived, ran to meet him as the tutelary genius of Spain; they dragged him from the ship. Columbus appeared with irons on his feet and hands.

"He had been treated in this way by order of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, Superintendent of the Armaments.[1] The ingratitude displayed was as great as his services. Isabella was ashamed, and endeavoured to repair the affront as well as she was able; but Columbus was kept at home for four years, either because the Court was afraid of his retaining his discoveries for his own benefit, or to gain time for the investigation of his conduct. At length he was sent back to his New World (1498). It was on his third voyage that he first sighted the Continent ten degrees beyond the equator, and the coast on which was founded Carthagena.[2]

[1] "Codice diplomatico Colombo Americano, ossia raccolta di documenti inediti, &c." Genoa, 1823, lib. iv. See in the same collection a letter from Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan, when he returned a prisoner to Spain, p. 297.

[2] In his fourth voyage (1501—3) the unfortunate Columbus was refused shelter in the very port which he had discovered. He foundered upon the coast of Jamaica, and remained there a year deprived of all assistance; from thence he wrote a pathetic letter to Ferdinand and Isabella. He returned, exhausted with fatigue, to Spain, and the intelligence of the death of his patroness, Isabella, dealt him the last blow. (1506.)

"Of what profit," says he in this letter, "have been to me these twenty years of labour, fatigue, and peril? At this day I have not so much as a house in Castile. If I want to dine, sup, or sleep, my only shelter is the inn. Oftener than not I have no money to pay my expenses . . . . . If I had not the patience of Job, should I not have died in despair, seeing that in such tempestuous weather, and in the extremity of our danger, I and my young son, my brother and my friends were shut out from the very land and port which I had won for Spain, and in discovering which I had sweated blood.

"However, I climbed to the highest point of the vessel, sending forth cries of distress and calling the four winds to my assistance;

"The ashes of Columbus are not affected by the glorious achievement of his life—that of doubling the works of Creation; but men like to do justice to the dead, either because they flatter themselves that more justice will be done to the living or from the natural love of truth. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, enjoyed the glory of giving his name to the new hemisphere in which he had not an inch of ground. He pretended to have been the first to discover the Continent. Even if it be true that this discovery was his, the glory would not belong to him; it belongs incontestably to the man whose genius and courage induced him to make the first voyage" (*Voltaire*).

Whilst other hardy navigators were continuing the work of Columbus, the Portuguese and English discovered North America, and Bilbao spied out from the heights of Panama the Southern Ocean (1513). Meanwhile, the blind cupidity of the Spanish colonists was depopulating

but no answer came. Exhausted, I fell asleep, and I heard a voice full of sweetness and pity which pronounced these words: 'O man without sense, slow to believe and serve thy God, how has he not cared for thee ever since thy birth! What more did he do for Moses or for David his servant? The Indies, that rich quarter of the globe, he has given thee to bestow on whomsoever thou pleasest. He has given the keys of the Ocean, until now locked in with such strong bolts, unto thee.' And I, although half dead, could hear everything, but could find no answer. I could only bewail my faults. Whoever it was that was addressing me, concluded in these words: 'Be comforted, restore thy faith; for the tribulations of men are written upon stone and marble.' If it should please your Majesties to do me the favour to send me a ship of sixty-four tons with some biscuits and other provisions, it would be enough to carry me and these poor people back to Spain. I pray your Majesties to have pity upon me. May Heaven and Earth weep for me! Let all who have any charity, who love truth and justice, weep for me. I have stayed here in these Indian Islands, isolated, sick, in great trouble, expecting death every day, surrounded by innumerable cruel savages, far from the sacraments of our Holy Mother Church! I have not one maravedi for a spiritual offering! I implore your Majesties, if God permit me to leave this place, to allow me to go to Rome and to accomplish other pilgrimages. May the Holy Trinity preserve the life and power of your Majesties.—Written in the Indies, in the island of Jamaica—July 7th, 1503." *Letters from Columbus, reprinted under the direction of Abbé Morelli at Bassano*, 1860.

the Antilles. These first conquerors of the New World were the dregs of the Old. Mere adventurers, impatient to go back to their own country, they could not wait for the slow returns of agriculture or industry: they believed in no other wealth than gold. This mistake cost America ten millions of her inhabitants. The feeble, effeminate race, which occupied the country, soon fell victims to excessive and unhealthy labour. The population of Hispaniola was reduced by 1507 from one million to 60,000. In spite of the benevolent laws of Isabella, in spite of the efforts of Ximenes, and the pathetic expostulation of the Dominicans, this depopulation extended between the Tropics. No one raised his voice in favour of the Americans, with more courage and pertinacity, than the celebrated Bartholomew de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa and protector of the Indians. Twice he returned to Europe and solemnly pleaded their cause before Charles V. It is heart-rending to read in the *Destruycion de las Indias* of the barbarous treatment endured by these unhappy natives.[1]

[1] Las Casas, *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias*, edition of Venice, 1643: "The women were obliged to work in the fields, the men in the mines. Whole generations were perishing. Many Indians strangled themselves. I know one Spaniard whose cruelty induced more than two hundred Indians to kill themselves."—p. 29. "There was one of the King's officers who had three hundred Indians; at the end of three months only thirty remained. Three hundred more were given to him; he caused their deaths. More and more were given to him, till he died, and the devil carried him off.—If it had not been for the Franciscans and a wise tribunal which was established, Mexico would have been depopulated like Hispaniola."—p. 142. "In Peru one Alonzo Sanchez met a troop of women with provisions, who gave them to him without attempting to run away; he seized the food and massacred the women.—(58.) They dug ditches, filled them with stakes and threw in pell-mell the Indians whom they seized alive, old men, women with child, little children, until the ditch was full.—(61.) They dragged the Indians after them to force them to fight against their brothers, and obliged them to eat their flesh.—(83.) When the Spaniards dragged them into the mountains and they fell down exhausted, they broke their teeth with the handles of their swords; and the Indians cried out 'Kill us now! we will die now.'—(72.) A Spaniard who

One does not know whether most to admire the daring of the conquerors of America or to detest their cruelty. They had discovered in four expeditions the coasts of Florida, Yucatan, and Mexico, when Fernando Cortez sailed from the island of Cuba to make new explorations on the Continent (1519).

"This simple lieutenant of the governor of a newly-discovered island, followed by less than 600 men, with only 18 horses and a few field-pieces, set off to subjugate the most powerful State in America. In the beginning he was so fortunate as to meet with a Spaniard who had been for nine years a prisoner at Yucatan, on the road to Mexico, and who acted as his interpreter. Cortez advanced along the Gulf of Mexico, sometimes caressing the natives, sometimes making war on them. He found polished towns where the arts were held in honour. The powerful republic of Tlascala, which was flourishing under an aristocratic government, opposed his passage; but the sight of the horses and the noise of the cannon were enough to put these ill-armed multitudes to flight. He made as favourable a peace as he chose; 6,000 of his new allies in Tlascala accompanied him on his Mexican expedition. He entered Mexico without encountering

was out shooting had nothing to give to his dogs. He met a woman with a little child; he took the child, cut it in pieces, and gave it to the dogs.—(116.) I have seen with my eyes Spaniards cut off hands, noses, and ears from men and women, with no other motive than caprice, in so many places and so often, that it would take too long to enumerate. I have seen them train dogs to hunt the Indians. I have seen them tear infants from their mothers' breasts and throw them into the air with all their strength. A priest named Ocagna took a child out of the fire into which it had been thrown; a Spaniard came by, tore it from his arms and threw it back. This man died suddenly on the following day. I decided that he ought not to be buried.—(132.) I protest on my conscience and before God that I have not exaggerated the ten thousandth part of what has been done, and is being done.—(134.) Finished at Valencia, 1542, December 8." See also the work entitled: "*Aqui se contiene una disputa o controversia entre el obispo Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, obispo que fué de la ciudad real de Chiapa, el doctor Ines de Sepulveda, chronista del emperador nuestro, sobre que el doctor contendia que las conquistas de las Indias eran licitas.*" Valladolid 1550.

any opposition, in spite of the proclamation of the sovereign, although that sovereign had thirty vassals, each of whom might have appeared at the head of 100,000 men armed with darts and sharp stones which they used instead of steel.

"The town of Mexico, built in the midst of a great lake, was the finest monument of American industry; immense causeways intersected the lake, which was covered with little boats made of bark. In the town were spacious and convenient houses built of stone; markets and shops full of shining gold and silver work, glazed earthenware, cotton stuffs, and tissues of feathers, in which the most striking designs were formed, in the brightest colours. Near the principal market was a town-hall, where summary justice was dealt to traders. Several royal palaces belonging to the Emperor Montezuma increased the splendour of the town; one of them was surrounded by large gardens, in which only medicinal plants were cultivated; managers distributed them gratuitously to the sick; the king received a report of the success which followed their use, and the doctors kept a register of them in their own manner, for writing was unknown. All their other magnificence marked only the development of art; this one denoted moral progress. If it were not in human nature to mingle good and evil, we should be perplexed to reconcile this benevolence with the human sacrifices whose blood welled up at Mexico before the idol Visiliputsli, the god of armies. It is said that Montezuma's ambassadors told Cortez that their master sacrificed in his wars nearly 20,000 enemies every year, in the great temple at Mexico. This is a great exaggeration; we see the intention to excuse the injustice of Montezuma's conqueror; however, when the Spaniards entered the temple they found among its ornaments, skulls hung as trophies. Their government was in other respects wise and humane; the education of youth formed one of its chief objects. There were public schools established for both sexes. We admire the ancient Egyptians for knowing that the year consisted of about 365 days: the

astronomy of the Mexicans was equally advanced. War with them was reduced to an art; it is this which gave them so much superiority over their neighbours. A wise financial administration maintained the greatness of this empire, which was feared and envied by its neighbours.

"But the warlike animals on which the principal Spaniards were mounted, the artificial thunder which they produced with their hands, those wooden castles which had carried them over the ocean, the steel with which they were covered, their marches which were as many victories,—all these real subjects of admiration, besides the weakness which inclines nations to admire, caused Cortez when he entered the town of Mexico to be received by Montezuma as a master, and by the people as a god. If a Spanish servant passed in the street the people fell on their knees. It is said that a Mexican cazique presented a Spanish captain, who was passing over his land, with slaves and game. 'If thou art a god,' he said, 'here are men, eat them; if thou art a man, here is food, which these slaves will prepare for thee.'

"Little by little Montezuma's courtiers became familiar with their guests, and ventured to treat them as men. Some of the Spaniards were at Vera Cruz on the road to Mexico; one of the Emperor's generals who had secret orders attacked them, and although his troops were beaten, three or four of the Spaniards were killed; the head of one was even carried to Montezuma. Then Cortez performed one of the most daring actions on record; he went to the Palace, followed by fifty Spaniards, carried the Emperor a prisoner to the Spanish quarters, forced him to give up those who had attacked his men at Vera Cruz, and loaded the feet and hands of the Emperor with irons as a general might punish a common soldier; afterwards he induced him to declare himself publicly as a vassal of Charles V. Montezuma and the principal personages of the empire gave as the tribute attached to their homage 600,000 marks of pure gold, with an incredible amount of jewels, of gold-work, and of the most valuable products of the industry of many

centuries. Cortez set aside one-fifth for his master, took another fifth for himself, and distributed the remainder among his soldiers.

"It may be mentioned as one of the most extraordinary facts in history, that although the conquerors of this New World tried to destroy each other, their conquests did not suffer. Never was fact so contrary to probability. When Cortez had nearly subdued Mexico with the 500 men he had remaining, the Governor of Cuba, Velasquez, more offended by the fame acquired by his lieutenant, Cortez, than by his want of submission, sent almost all his troops, consisting of 800 foot, eighty well-mounted horse, and two small field-pieces, to subdue Cortez, take him prisoner, and supplant him in his victories. Cortez having, on the one hand, to fight 1,000 Spaniards, and on the other to retain the continent in subjection, left eighty men to answer for the whole of Mexico, and marched against his countrymen with the rest of his troops. He obtained the victory. The remainder of the army which came to destroy him took service under his standard, and he returned with it to Mexico.

"The Emperor was still imprisoned in his capital, guarded by eighty soldiers. The officer who commanded them, on a true or false report that the Mexicans were conspiring to deliver their master, had chosen the opportunity of a festival, during which 2,000 of the chiefs were steeped in drink to fall upon them with fifty of his men, massacre them and their followers without encountering any resistance, and strip them of all the jewels, and gold and silver ornaments, with which they were covered for this festivity. This crime, rightly attributed by the people to the greed of avarice, at length tired out their patience; and when Cortez arrived he found 200,000 Americans in arms against eighty Spaniards occupied in defending themselves and in guarding the Emperor. They implored Cortez to deliver their king; they precipitated themselves in numbers against the cannon and the muskets. The Spaniards grew tired of killing them, and the Mexicans succeeded each other

intrepidly.[1] Cortez was obliged to abandon the town, in which he would have been famished; but the Mexicans had broken up all the roads. The Spaniards made bridges with the bodies of their enemies; in their bloody retreat they lost all the treasures which they had seized for Charles V. as well as for themselves. Having won the battle of Otumba, Cortez prepared to lay siege to Mexico. He made his soldiers and the Tlascalans whom he had with him construct nine vessels, to re-enter the town by the very lake which seemed to forbid his entrance. The Mexicans were not afraid of a naval combat; 4,000 or 5,000 canoes, each containing two men, covered the lake and attacked the nine ships of Cortez, on which he had about 300 men. These nine brigantines, armed with guns, soon overpowered the fleet of the enemy. Cortez with the remainder of his troops was fighting upon the causeways which traversed the lake. Seven or eight Spanish prisoners were sacrificed in the Temple of Mexico. At length, after renewed struggles, the new Emperor was taken. It was the same Gatimozin who became so famous for his speech when a Receiver of the King of Spain placed him on burning coals to discover in which part of the lake he had thrown his riches. While his High Priest, condemned to the same tortures, uttered loud cries, Gatimozin called out, 'And I, am I upon a bed of roses?'"

Cortez was absolute master of the town of Mexico (1521); all the remainder fell with it under the Spanish dominion, as well as the adjoining provinces. What

[1] "I declared to them that if they continued obstinate I should not stop as long as there remained any vestige of the town and its inhabitants. They answered that they were all determined to die in order to finish with us, that I might see the terraces, streets, and squares filled with men and that they had calculated that by sacrificing twenty-five thousand for one we should perish first." Hernando Cortez, *Historia de la Nueva España, por su conquistador.* First letter to Charles V. October 30, 1520. "They asked me wherefore I, son of the Sun who travels round the world in twenty-four hours, was longer in exterminating them, in satisfying their desire for death and joining the God of Rest." 2nd letter.

was the reward of the extraordinary services of Cortez? The same that Columbus received—he was persecuted. Notwithstanding the titles with which his country had decorated him, he met with little consideration, and he could scarcely obtain an audience from Charles V. One day he penetrated the crowd which surrounded the Emperor's coach, and got upon the doorstep. Charles asked who that man was. "It is a man," replied Cortez, "who has given you more kingdoms than your fathers left you towns."

The Spaniards, however, sought new countries to conquer and lay waste. Magalhaens had sailed round Southern America, crossed the Pacific Ocean, and was the first to circumnavigate the globe. But the greatest of the American States after Mexico remained to be discovered. One day when the Spaniards were weighing some gold, an Indian, overturning their scales, told them that in two suns' march southwards they would find a country in which gold was so plentiful as to serve for the vilest usages. Two adventurers, Pizarro and Almagro, one a foundling and the other a keeper of swine who had turned soldier, undertook the discovery and the conquest of the vast countries which the Spaniards have called by the name of Peru.

"From Cusco and the environs of Cape Capricorn to the Isle of Pearls a single monarch ruled over about thirty degrees; he was of the race of conquerors called Incas. The first of these Incas, who had subdued and given laws to the country, was supposed to be the son of the Sun. The Peruvians transmitted the record of their events to posterity by knots which they placed on cords. They had obelisks and regular gnomons to mark the points of the equinox and the solstices. Their year consisted of 365 days. They had raised prodigies of architecture, and were great in the art of sculpture. It was the most polished and industrious nation in the New World.

"The Inca Huescar, father of Atahualpa the last Inca, under whom the empire was destroyed, had greatly increased and embellished it. This Inca, who had con-

quered the whole of Quito, had constructed by means of his soldiers and prisoners a high road of 500 leagues from Cusco to Quito, through ravines which had been filled up and hills which had been laid plain. Relays of men, placed at each half league, carried the orders of the Sovereign throughout his empire. Such was the administration: the King's magnificence is sufficiently proved by the fact that when he travelled he was carried upon a throne of gold weighing 25,000 ducats; the litter of golden shafts on which the throne rested was borne by the first men in the kingdom.

"Pizarro attacked this empire with 250 foot, sixty horse, and a dozen small cannon. He landed from the Southern Ocean in the latitude of Quito, below the equator. Atahualpa, son of Huescar, reigned at that time (1532); he resided near Quito surrounded by 40,000 soldiers armed with arrows and gold and silver pikes. Like Cortez, Pizarro began by offering the friendship of Charles V. to the Inca. When the army of Atahualpa and the little Castilian troop were in each other's presence, the Spaniards endeavoured to colour their conduct with the appearance of religion. A monk called Valverde approached the Inca with an interpreter, and holding out a Bible told him that he must believe *all that the Book said.* The Inca put it to his ear, and hearing nothing flung it on the ground. This was the sign of battle.

"The guns, horses, and steel arms made on the Peruvians the same effect as on the Mexicans: they were killed without resistance. Atahualpa, torn from his golden throne by the conquerors, was loaded with irons. To be speedily set at liberty he promised to give them as much gold as one of the halls in his palace could contain, 'up to the height of his hand,' and he raised his hand in the air. Every Spanish horse-soldier had 240 marks in pure gold; each foot-soldier 160. Ten times as much silver was shared in the same proportions. The officers amassed immense treasures; and they sent to Charles V. 30,000 marks in silver, 3,000 in unwrought gold, and productions of the industry of the country weighing 20,000 marks in

silver and 2,000 in gold. The unfortunate Atahualpa was, notwithstanding, put to death.

"Diego of Almagro marched to Cusco through opposing multitudes; he penetrated as far as Chili. Everywhere possession was taken in the name of Charles V. Soon afterwards dissensions broke out between the conquerors as they had between Velasquez and Hernando Cortez in North America.

"Almagro and the brothers of Pizarro made war upon each other in Cusco itself, the capital of the Incas; all the European recruits took sides and fought for the chief whom they selected. They had a bloody battle under the walls of Cusco, yet the Peruvians did not venture to profit by the weakness of their common enemy. At length Almagro was taken prisoner and beheaded by his rival; but soon afterwards the latter was assassinated by the friends of his victim.

"Already the government of Spain was extending throughout the New World; the large provinces had their Governors; tribunals called *audiences* were established; Archbishops, Bishops, tribunals of the Inquisition, the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy was exercising its functions as at Madrid, when the captains who had conquered Peru for Charles V. tried to take it for themselves. A son of Almagro caused himself to be recognized as the Governor of Peru; but some other Spaniards preferring to obey their sovereign in Europe rather than one of their own companions, who had become their master, had him beheaded by the executioner." (Voltaire.)

A new civil war was also suppressed. Charles V., yielding at length to the representations of Las Casas, had guaranteed the personal liberty of the Indians, while he imposed tribute and services upon them (1542). The Spanish colonists took up arms and chose Gonzalo Pizarro for their chief. But the name of the King was so much respected that it was sufficient to send an old man, an inquisitor (Pedro de la Gasca), to restore order. He rallied round him most of the Spaniards, overcame some

by persuasion, and others by force, and secured the possession of Peru to Spain (1546).

Extent of the Spanish Empire in America.—If we except Mexico and Peru, Spain really possessed only the coasts. The nations in the interior could only be subdued gradually as they were converted by Missionaries and attached to the soil.

Discoveries and Establishments of different kinds.—1540. Enterprise of Gonzalo Pizarro for discovering the country to the east of the Andes; Orellana sails round South America, a voyage of 2,000 leagues. *Establishments*, 1527, province of Venezuela; 1535, Buenos Ayres; 1536, province of Granada; 1540, Santiago; 1550, the Concession; 1555, Carthagena and Porto Bello; 1567, Caraccas.

Administrations.—Political Government: in Spain, Council for India, and Court of Commerce and Justice; in America, two Viceroys, Audiences, Municipalities, Caziques and *Protectors* of the Indians, Ecclesiastical Government (entirely dependent on the King), Archbishops, Bishops, Curates or Doctors, Missionaries, Monks.—Inquisition established in 1570 by Philip II.

Commercial Administration: Monopoly. Privileged Ports: in America, Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and Porto Bello; in Europe, Seville (later on, Cadiz); Fleet and Galleons. Agriculture and Manufactures neglected in Spain and in America for the sake of mining operations; slow growth of the colonies, and ruin of the metropolis before 1600. But during the course of the sixteenth century the enormous quantity of precious metals which Spain obtained from America contributed to make her the preponderating power in Europe.

CHAPTER XVI.

LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

LEO X. AND FRANCIS I.

THE 15th century was devoted to classical learning, enthusiasm for antiquity caused the road which had been so happily opened by Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch to be abandoned. In the sixteenth century the genius of the moderns shone once more and was never again extinguished.

The progress of intellect at this time presents two perfectly distinct movements; the former, favoured by the influence of Leo X. and Francis I., was peculiar to Italy and France; the latter was European.—The former, characterized by the progress of literature and the arts, was interrupted in France by civil, and diminished in Italy by foreign, wars; in the latter country the genius of literature was crushed under the yoke of Spain; but the impulse given to art was felt into the middle of the following century.—The second movement was the development of an entirely new spirit of doubt and inquiry.

In the seventeenth century this spirit was checked partly by a return to religious belief, partly by a diversion in favour of natural sciences, but it reappeared in the eighteenth.

§ I. Literature and Art.

Besides the general causes which produced the revival of letters, such as the progress of security and opulence, the discovery of the monuments of antiquity, &c., several special causes united to give new life to literature in the Italy of the sixteenth century. (1) In consequence of the art of printing, books became common; (2) The people of Italy having no longer any influence in politics, sought for consolation in the pleasures of the intellect; (3) a number of Princes, especially the Medici, encouraged scientific men and artists; the great writers profited less by their protection.

Poetry, with the arts, was Italy's chief glory in the sixteenth century, and was distinguished by both genius and elegance in the first part of this period. The Epic Muse raised two immortal monuments. Comedy and Tragedy made some rather mediocre attempts. The most opposite styles, satires and pastorals were cultivated. The rapid decline of good taste is most remarkable in the latter.

	Died in		Died in
Boiardo . . .	1490	Trissino . . .	1550
Macchiavelli . .	1529	Tasso	1596
Ariosto	1533	Guarini	1619

Eloquence, that tardy offspring of Literature, had not had time to form itself. But many historians rivalled the ancients in excellence.

	Died in		Died in
Macchiavelli . .	1529	Paolo Giovio . .	1552
Guicciardini . .	1540	Baronius . . .	1607
Bembo	1547		

The dead languages were cultivated as much as in the preceding period, but this distinction is lost sight of among so many others.

	Died in		Died in
Pontanas	1503	Sado Petus	1547
Aldus Manutius	1516	Fracastorius	1553
Johannes Secundus	1523	J. C. Scaliger	1558
Sannazarius	1530	Vida	1563
A. J. Lascaris	1535	Paulus Manutius	1574
Bembo	1547	Aldus Manutius	1597

Superiority in art was the characteristic feature of the Italy of the sixteenth century. The ancients remained unrivalled in sculpture; but the moderns equalled them in architecture, and in painting probably surpassed them. The Roman school was celebrated for perfection in design, the Venetian for beauty of colour.

	Died in		Died in
Giorgione	1511	Primaticcio	1564
Bramante	1514	Palladio	1568
Leonardo da Vinci.	1518	Titiano.	1576
Raphael	1520	Paulo Veronese	1588
Correggio	1534	Tintoretto	1594
Parmegiano	1534	Augustino Carracci	1601
Giulio Romano	1546	Caravaggio	1609
Michel Angelo	1564	Annibale Carracci	1609
Giovanni of Udino.	1564	Ludovico Carracci	1610

France followed Italy at a great distance. The historian Comines died in 1509. Francis I. founded the Collége de France and the Imprimerie Royale. He encouraged the poet Marot (1544), and the brothers du Bellay (1543—1560), diplomatists and historians. His sister Marguerite of Navarre (1549) herself cultivated letters. Francis I. honoured Titian and invited Primaticcio and Leonardo da Vinci to France. He built Fontainebleau, St. Germain, and Chambord, and began the Louvre. Under him flourished Jean Cousin (1589), designer and painter; Germain Pilon, Philibert de l'Orme, Jean Goujon (1572), sculptors and architects; scholars—Budæus (1540), Turnebus (1563), Muretus (1585); Henry Stephens, the celebrated printer; the illustrious lawyers, Dumoulin (1566), and Cujas (1590). After the reign of Francis I. the poet Ronsard (1585) enjoyed a short-lived fame; but Montaigne (1592), Amyot (1593), and the

Satire Ménippée gave a new character to the French language.

Other countries were less rich in illustrious men. Germany, however, may boast of her Luther, the poet shoemaker, Hans Sachs, and the painters, Albert Dürer and Lucas Cranach. Portugal and Spain had their illustrious writers, Camoens, Lope de Vega, and Cervantes; Flanders and Scotland their scholars and historians, Juste Lipsius (1616) and Buchanan (1592). Of the forty-three universities founded in the sixteenth century, fourteen were founded by the kings of Spain alone, and ten of them by Charles V.

§ II. Philosophy and Science.

In the preceding century philosophy was cultivated only by the learned. It contented itself with attacking scholastic, and setting up Platonic philosophy in its stead. Swept away gradually into a more rapid current, it carried the spirit of inquiry into every subject. But sufficient observations had not been made, there was no method, human intellect was searching at random. Many men were discouraged and afterwards became the most audacious sceptics.

	Died in		Died in
Erasmus	1533	Montaigne	1592
Vives	1540	Gordano Bruno	1600
Rabelais	1553	Charron	1603
Cardan	1576	Boehm	1624
Telesio	1588	Campanello	1639

Theoretical politics began with Macchiavelli; but in the commencement of the sixteenth century the Italians had not made sufficient progress in this science to find that it was reconcileable with morality.

	Died in		Died in
Macchiavelli	1529	Bodin	1596
Thomas More	1533		

The natural sciences left the fruitless systems they had hitherto accepted to follow the road of observation and experience.

	Died in		Died in
Paracelsus . . .	1541	Gessner . . .	1565
Copernicus . . .	1543	Paré	1592
Fallopius . . .	1562	Visto	1605
Vesalius. . . .	1564	Van Helmont . .	1644

CHAPTER XVII.

TROUBLES IN THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

RICHELIEU, 1610—1613.

THE chief characteristic of the seventeenth century is the simultaneous progress of the monarchy and of the lower classes *(tiers état)*. The progress of monarchy was twice suspended by the minorities of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. That of the *tiers état* was stopped only towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV., when the King, who no longer feared the nobles, allowed the government to fall into their hands. Until that time all the ministers, Concini, Luynes, Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert, and Louvois, had been plebeians, or at the most, belonged quite to the inferior nobility. A few of the admirals and chief officers in the armies of Louis XIV. came from the very lowest ranks of the people.

In the first portion of this century political action may be said to have been negative. The object was to destroy the obstacles to monarchical centralization—the higher nobles and the Protestants; this was the work of Richelieu. In the second portion there was under Colbert an attempt at legislative, and especially at administrative, organization. Manufactures took their rise. France was active both at home and abroad; she fought as well as produced. But her productions did not equal her consumption. France exhausted herself in enlarging her territory by means of necessary and glorious victories.

Her interior prosperity was retarded by the pressure of her wars and conquests, and by aristocratic reaction. The nobility seized upon the power of the crown, stood between the King and the people and communicated their own decrepitude to the monarchy.

Henri IV. found great difficulty in holding the balance between the Protestants and Catholics. At the time of his death he could no longer have maintained this indecision, he must have joined one of the two parties, and he would have chosen the Protestants, for the great German war which was just beginning offered him the magnificent part of chief of the European opposition against the House of Austria—the part which was played twenty years later by Gustavus Adolphus. After the King's death, Louis XIII., a child; an Italian regent, Marie de Medicis, and her Italian minister, Concini, were not able to continue the policy of Henri IV. This child and this woman could not mount on horseback and fight against Austria. As they could not oppose, they were obliged to make friends with Austria. They could not lead the nobles and Protestants into Germany on a Protestant crusade, they were therefore obliged to try to gain the nobles and weaken the Protestants. This policy of Concini's, justly blamed by the historians, is defended by Richelieu in one of his writings. The nobles whom Henri IV. had not been able to deprive of their fortresses, such as Condé, Epernon, Bouillon, and Longueville, were all in arms on his death; they demanded money, and in order to avoid civil war it was necessary to give up to them the treasure amassed by Henri IV. (twelve millions and not thirty, according to Richelieu). They next called for the States General (1614).

This assembly of the States, which after all effected nothing, did not answer the expectations of the nobles; it showed a devotion to the monarchy; and the *tiers état* called on the crown to proclaim its independence of the Pope. The nobles, as they could obtain nothing from the States General, had recourse to force, and allied themselves with the Protestants (1615); a strange

alliance between old feudalism and the religious reformation of the 16th century! Concini, tired of middle courses, arrested the Prince of Condé, the chief of the coalition. This daring step was the beginning of a new policy; Concini had just enlisted the services of the young Richelieu (1610).

A court intrigue overthrew Concini for the benefit of the young Luynes, *the little king's favourite servant*, who persuaded him to emancipate himself from his mother and his minister (1617). Concini was assassinated, and his widow, Leonora Galigaï, executed as a sorceress. Their real crimes were theft and venality. Luynes only continued the ministry of Concini. He had one more enemy in the queen-mother who twice nearly brought on civil war. The Protestants became every day more formidable. They demanded, arms in hand, the execution of the Edict of Nantes, which allowed a Republic to exist within the kingdom. Luynes pushed them to extremities by uniting Béarn to the crown, and declaring that in that province the ecclesiastical property should be restored to the Catholics. This is precisely what the Emperor tried to do in Germany, and it was the principal cause of the Thirty Years' War. Richelieu was afterwards more prudent in his measures. He did not annoy the Protestants with regard to their usurped possessions, he attacked only their fortresses. Their Assembly at La Rochelle, in 1621, published a declaration of independence, divided into eight circles the 700 reformed churches in France, regulated the levies of money and men—in a word, organised the Protestant Republic. They offered 100,000 crowns a month to Lesdiguières to place himself at their head and organise their army. But the old soldier would not at 80 years of age quit his little sovereignty of Dauphiny to accept the government of such an undisciplined party. Luynes, who had taken the command of the royal army and the title of Constable, failed miserably before Montauban, whither he had led the king. He died in this campaign (1621).

It was only three years afterwards that the queen-

mother succeeded in introducing her creature Richelieu into the council (1624). The King had an antipathy against this man, in whom he had a presentiment that he would find a master. Richelieu's first thought was to neutralise England, the only ally of the Protestants in France. He did this in two ways. On the one hand, he supported Holland and lent her money to build ships; on the other, the marriage of the King of England with the beautiful Henrietta of France, daughter of Henri IV., increased the natural indecision of Charles I. and the distrust of the English in his government. The Cardinal thus began by an alliance with the English and Dutch heretics, and a war against the Pope; from this we may see how free his policy was from prejudice. The Pope, who was entirely under the influence of Spain, occupied in her favour the little Swiss canton of the Valteline, thus holding for her the door of the Alps, through which her Italian possessions communicated with Austria. Richelieu hired Swiss troops, sent them against the Pope's army, and restored the Valteline to the Grisons; but not until he had assured himself by a decision of the Sorbonne that he might do so with a clear conscience. After having beaten the Pope, in the following year (1625) he conquered the Protestants, who had again taken up arms; he subdued them and temporised with them, not being able as yet to destroy them. He was embarrassed in the execution of his great projects by the most despicable intrigues. The young followers of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, who were under the influence of women, stimulated their master's lazy ambition. They wanted to give him an external support by marrying him to a foreign princess. Richelieu at first attempted to gain them over. He gave a marshal's bâton to Ornano, Gaston's governor. This encouraged them still further, and they plotted Richelieu's death. The Cardinal sent for their chief accomplice, Chalais, but could get nothing from him. Then, changing his policy, he gave Chalais up to a commission of the Parliament of Brittany and executed him (1626). Gaston, while his friend was being beheaded, married, without saying a

word, Mademoiselle de Montpensier. Ornano, imprisoned in the Bastille, soon afterwards died there, no doubt of poison. Gaston's favourites were in the habit of dying in the Bastille (Paylaurens, 1635). Such was the policy of the time, as we read in the Machiavelli of the 17th century, Gabriel Naudé, Mazarin's librarian. The device of these politicians, as given by Naudé, was *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* In other respects they agreed well in the choice of means. It was the same doctrine that inspired the terrorists in 1793. It seems to have been followed by neither remorse nor doubt in the mind of Richelieu. As he was expiring the priest asked if he forgave his enemies: "I have never had any," he replied, "except those of the State." At another time he uttered the following terrible words: "I never venture to undertake anything without having well reflected upon it; but when once I have resolved, I go straight to my object, I cut through everything, I hew down everything, and afterwards cover all with my red robe."

He did in truth walk in a straight line with a terrible inflexibility. He suppressed the post of constable; that of high admiral he took for himself, under the name of general superintendent of the navy. This title meant from the first the destroyer of La Rochelle. On the pretence of economy he ordered the reduction of pensions, and the demolition of fortresses. The fortress of Protestantism, La Rochelle, was at length attacked. A fop who governed the King of England, the handsome Buckingham, had solemnly proclaimed his love for Anne of Austria; he was forbidden to enter the kingdom of France, and he caused war to be declared between the two countries. The English promised assistance to La Rochelle; it revolted and fell under the claws of Richelieu (1627-8). Buckingham came with a few thousand men to be beaten in the Isle of Rhé. Charles I. had soon something else to do. With the famous "Petition of Right" (1628), the English revolution began; and Richelieu was by no means foreign to it. La Rochelle, abandoned by the English, found herself divided from

the sea by a prodigious dyke—the remains may still be seen at low tide. It had taken more than a year to construct, more than once the sea carried the dyke away,—Richelieu would not desist. The Amsterdam of France, of which Coligni had intended to make himself the William of Orange, was seized in the midst of her waters and enclosed by land; parted from her native element, she did nothing from this time but waste away. Protestantism, at least, as a political party, was killed with the same blow. The war still lingered in the south, but the famous Duke of Rohan at length came to terms.

After having broken the Protestant party in France, Richelieu conquered the Catholic party in Europe; he beat the Spaniards in the corner of Italy where they had reigned ever since Charles V. By means of a sharp, short war he cut the knot of the succession to Mantua and Montferrat,—small countries, but strong military positions. The last duke had bequeathed them to a French prince, the Duke of Nevers. The Savoyards, fortified at Susa, thought themselves impregnable, and Richelieu himself believed them to be so. The King, in his own person, carried this terrible barrier. The Duke of Nevers was secured, France obtained an advanced post in Italy, and the Duke of Savoy knew that the French might march through his dominions whenever they pleased (1630).

During this splendid war, the Queen-mother, the courtiers, the ministers even, were waging an underhand and cowardly opposition against Richelieu. They thought that they had dethroned him. He met Louis XIII., talked to him for a quarter of an hour, and found himself master again. This day was called the *Day of the Dupes*. It was a comedy. The Cardinal packed up his goods in the morning, and his enemies did the same in the evening. But the play had its tragic side; the Cardinal seized the two Marillacs, as well as the Superintendent, both creatures of his own, who had turned against him. Without mentioning the crimes of peculation and extortion, so common at this period, they were guilty of having endeavoured to cause the failure of the Italian

war by keeping back sums intended for its support. One of them was beheaded. The odious part of the business was that he was tried by a commission of his personal enemies in a private house, the palace of the Cardinal himself, at Ruel.

The Queen-mother, who was more embarrassing, was arrested and intimidated. She was persuaded to escape to Brussels with her son Gaston. The latter, assisted by the Duke of Lorraine, whose daughter he had married after the death of his first wife, collected a few vagabonds and fell upon France. He had been invited by the nobles, among others by Montmorency, the Governor of Languedoc. The nobles were determined this time to stake all on their game. In order to join Montmorency it was necessary to march across the whole kingdom. Gaston's ill-paid soldiers supplied themselves by their exactions as they went. All the towns shut their gates against these robbers. The encounter took place at Castelnaudry, and they were beaten (1632). Gaston threw down his arms and made peace by giving up his friends; he swore emphatically "to love the King's ministers, *especially His Eminence the Cardinal*." Montmorency, wounded and taken prisoner, was cruelly beheaded at Toulouse. The fate of this last representative of chivalry and feudalism excited commiseration. His relation, the Duke of Bouteville, father of the celebrated Luxembourg, had been beheaded in 1627 for fighting a duel. When heads of such importance were seen to fall, the nobles began to understand that the State and the laws were no longer to be trifled with.

The Thirty Years' War was raging at that time. Richelieu would not take a direct part in it as long as he had the nobles on his hands. The Emperor had by that time damaged the Protestant party: the Palatine was ruined (1623), the King of Denmark was giving up the war (1629). The Catholic armies were under the command of their greatest generals,—the tactician Tilly, and that demon of war Wallenstein. To give the Protestants a lift, to excite the phlegmatic Germans, some external movement

was necessary. Richelieu searched for an ally northward of Denmark, and summoned Gustavus Adolphus from Sweden. First he relieved him from the war with Poland: he gave him money and negotiated for him an alliance with the United Provinces and the King of England. He was skilful enough at the same time to persuade the Emperor to disarm. The Swede, whose poverty was so great that he had more probabilities of gaining than losing, precipitated himself into Germany, let loose all the thunders of war, disconcerted the famous tacticians, and beat them easily while they were studying his manœuvres: with one blow he deprived them of the Rhine and all the west of Germany. Richelieu had not foreseen that his success would be so rapid. Fortunately Gustavus perished at Lützen, happily for his enemies, his friends, and his own glory. He died pure and invincible (1632).

Richelieu continued his subsidies to the Swedes, closed France on the side of Germany by confiscating Lorraine, and declared war against Spain (1635). He thought that he had subdued Austria so thoroughly that he might venture upon despoiling her. He had bought the best pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. Nevertheless the war presented some difficulty at first. The Imperialists entered by way of Burgundy, and the Spaniards by Picardy. They were only thirty leagues from Paris. The inhabitants were preparing to leave the capital; the minister himself seems to have lost his head. The Spaniards, however, were repulsed (1636). Bernard of Weimar gained for the benefit of France the famous battles of Rheinfeld and Brisach. Brisach and Fribourg, considered as impregnable fortresses, were nevertheless taken. The temptation was becoming too strong for Bernard: he wished with the money of France to create for himself a little sovereignty on the other side of the Rhine; his master, the great Gustavus, had not had time for this, nor had Bernard. He died at the age of thirty-six, very opportunely for France and for Richelieu (1639).

In the following year (1640) the Cardinal found means

of simplifying the war. It was to create more than one civil war in Spain. The east and the west, Catalonia and Portugal, caught fire at the same time. The Catalans placed themselves under the protection of France. Spain tried to imitate Richelieu by fostering for him an embarrassing civil war. She treated with Gaston and the nobles. The Count of Soissons, who also rose in revolt, soon was obliged to take refuge with the Spaniards, and was killed in fighting for them at Sedan (1641). The party was not discouraged; and a new conspiracy was framed in concert with Spain. The young Cinq-Mars, chief equerry and favourite of Louis XIII., threw himself into it with the same thoughtlessness which ruined Chalais. The discreet De Thou, son of the historian, knew of the plot and concealed it. The King himself was aware that his minister's life was conspired against. Richelieu, who was then very ill, seemed to be hopelessly lost. He succeeded, however, in obtaining a copy of the treaty with Spain, and had just time to bring his enemies to justice before his death. He beheaded Cinq-Mars and De Thou. The Duke of Bouillon, who already felt the knife at his throat, purchased his life by giving up his town of Sedan, the hot-bed of all these intrigues. At the other extremity of France, Richelieu was taking Perpignan from Spain. These two strongholds which cover France on the north and south were the Cardinal's legacy to the country. In the same year the great Richelieu died (1642).

THIRD PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY

1648—1789.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE THIRD PERIOD.

1648—1715.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TROUBLES UNDER MAZARIN.—BEGINNING OF COLBERT'S MINISTRY.—LOUIS XIV.

1643—1661.

THE death of Richelieu was a deliverance for everyone. The world began to breathe again. The people composed songs, in which the King on his death-bed took part. His widow, Anne of Austria, became regent in the name of the young King Louis XIV., who was six years old. France, after the deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII., found herself, as after that of Henri IV., under the soft hand of a woman who could neither resist nor retain. "The French language," says a contemporary, "seemed to consist of these little words: 'The Queen is so kind.' The Concini of this new Medicis was an extremely clever Italian, Cardinal Mazarin. His administration, as deplorable at home as it was glorious abroad, was disturbed by the Revolution of the Fronde, and crowned by the two treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees: the former of which

continued to be the diplomatic map of Europe until the French Revolution. Both the good and the evil of this time were equally the heritage of Richelieu. He had stretched the springs of government too far—they gave way of themselves under Mazarin. Richelieu, who had every day to wage some mortal combat, supplied his finances by means of tyrannical expedients: he devoured the present and even the future by destroying credit. Mazarin, receiving them in this condition, increased their disorder by allowing plunder and plundering himself. When he died he left wealth to the amount of 200 millions. He had too much sense, however, to despise economy. On his death-bed he told Louis XIV. that he considered that he had discharged all his obligations to him by giving him Colbert. Some of this stolen money was, however, honourably employed. He sent Gabriel Naudé all over Europe to buy valuable books at any price: in this way he formed his admirable *Bibliothèque Mazarine*, and opened it to the public. This was the first public library in Paris. At the same time he gave a pension of 1,000 crowns, which he caused to be paid regularly, to Descartes, who had retired to Holland.

The new reign was inaugurated by victories. The French infantry took its place in the world for the first time at the battle of Rocroy (1643). This was much more than a battle, it was a great social event. Cavalry is the aristocratic, infantry the democratic arm of the service. The birth of the infantry is that of the people. Whenever the people rises in importance the infantry distinguishes itself. During the century and a half that Spain had been a nation, the Spanish foot-soldier had reigned in every battle-field, brave under fire, respecting himself even in rags, and making the *señor soldado* respected everywhere. He was gloomy, avaricious, and greedy, ill-paid, but patient while waiting to plunder some fine town in Germany or Flanders. In the time of Charles V. the troops had sworn by the "sack of Florence:" they had pillaged Rome, Antwerp, and numberless towns in the Low Countries. Among the Spanish troops there

were men of every nation, especially Italians. National character was disappearing, but the army was still sustained by its *esprit de corps* and ancient honour when it was demolished at the battle of Rocroy. The soldier who took the place of the Spaniard was the French soldier, the ideal soldier—disciplined impetuosity. Although still far from understanding the sentiment of patriotism, he had an ardent love for his country. This dashing troop was composed of sons of labourers, whose grandfathers had been engaged in the last religious wars. Those party strifes and pistol skirmishes made soldiers of the whole nation; they left traditions of honour and bravery in families. The grandsons of these combatants enlisted and led by a young man of twenty—the great Condé—broke through the Spanish lines at Rocroy, cutting to pieces the veteran bands as gaily as their descendants, under another young hero, crossed the bridges of Arcola and Lodi.

From the time of Gustavus Adolphus war had been carried on in a freer spirit. Less was thought of material and more of moral strength. Tactics had become, so to speak, more spiritual. As soon as men felt the divine spark within them, they marched on without considering the enemy. They required for their leader a daring young man, one who believed in success. Condé, at Fribourg, threw his bâton into the enemy's ranks; and every Frenchman ran to pick it up.

Victory begets victory. The lines at Rocroy once broken, the barrier of Spanish and Imperial honour was broken for ever. In the following year (1644) the skilful veteran Mercy allowed the lines at Thionville to be carried: Condé took Philipsburg and Mayence, the central position of the Rhine. Mercy was again and completely beaten at Nordlingen (1645). In 1646 Condé took Dunkerque, the key of the Low Countries and of the Channel. Finally, on the 20th August, 1648, he gained in Artois the battle of Lens. The treaty of Westphalia was signed on the 24th of October. Condé had simplified the negotiations.

These five years of unparalleled success were fatal to the good sense of Condé. He never thought of the soldiers who had gained his victories for him; he claimed them for himself, and everyone, it must be owned, thought as he did. This is what made him play in the Fronde the part of a matamore, a stage-hero; and afterwards, deceived, disappointed, powerless, and ridiculous, he lost his temper and joined the enemy; but he was beaten as soon as he ceased to command Frenchmen.

This revolution broke out in the very year of the glorious treaty of Westphalia, which terminated the European war, and gave Alsace to France. The Fronde[1] (so childish a war was well named after a childish game) was no doubt comic in its details, but still more so in its principle; it was, in truth, a revolt on the part of the lawyers against the law. The Parliament took up arms against the royal authority whence it derived its power. It seized on the power of the States General, and pretended to be the delegate of the nation which had nothing to do with it. At this time the English Parliament—a real Parliament in the political sense of the word—beheaded its king (1649). On the other hand, the Neapolitan populace was crowning a fisherman (Masaniello, 1648). Our Parliament, composed of lawyers who purchased their charges, had no antipathy to the dynasty or to royalty, but only to the royal authority. Their conduct for two centuries had led to no such anticipations. During the wars of religion they had exhibited much timidity and docility. Favourable for the most part to the new ideas, they nevertheless registered the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Under Richelieu they were equally docile; the Parliaments had furnished him with commissions for his sanguinary justice, and nevertheless had been ill-treated, subjected to compulsion, and interdicted (Paris, 1635, Rouen, 1640). At this time they hung their heads very low. When they raised them and found them still upon their

[1] A fronde is a sling with which the children in Paris used to throw stones.—*Tr.*

shoulders, and saw that their master was really dead, they felt brave and spoke loud. It resembled the noisy outbreak of merriment among schoolboys between the lessons of two severe masters—Richelieu and Louis XIV., —violence and strength.

In this tragi-comedy the most amusing figures after that of the French Mars, as Condé was called, were the chiefs of the opposite parties in Parliament: on the one hand the impassible President Molé, a simple bar of iron who softened under the influence neither of men nor of opinions; on the other hand, restlessness itself personified in the coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, the famous Cardinal de Retz. This petulant young man had begun by writing at seventeen a history of the conspiracy of Fiesco; afterwards in order to unite practice with theory, he entered into a conspiracy against Richelieu. His delight was to hear himself called the little Catilina. When he entered the Parisian Senate he allowed a dagger to peep out of his pocket. As he read that Cæsar had debts, he also had debts. Like Cæsar he left commentaries. Only Pharsalus was wanting to him.

The extreme poverty of the people admitting of no new taxes, Mazarin lived by means of chance resources and vexatious exactions. His superintendent, Emery, another Italian, having cut off four years' pay from the sovereign companies in exchange for an onerous tax, he exempted the Parliament. The Parliament did not choose to be alone exempted, and refused to register the edict. It declared its union with the sovereign companies, and invited the other parliaments to agree (13th May, 15th June, 1648). Mazarin thought that he struck a great blow when he arrested four councillors while the Te Deum was being sung, and the standards taken at the battle of Lens were being carried into Notre Dame. This was the beginning of the insurrection. Of the four prisoners, the one whom the people liked best was an old councillor who pleased them by his bluntness and his white hair. His name was Broussel. The people crowded before his door. An old servant held forth to the mob.

The disturbance spread, and 100,000 voices cried, "Liberty and Broussel."

The princes, the nobles, the Parliament, and the populace were all of one mind against Mazarin. The Queen was obliged to leave Paris with her little son. They slept upon straw at St. Germain. It was a bad time for kings. The Queen of England, who had taken refuge in Paris, spent the winter in bed for want of fuel. The Parliament, however, raised troops, the lawyers mounted on horseback, every large house furnished an armed lacquey. Viscount Turenne, a member of the intriguing house of Bouillon, believed the moment come for recovering Sedan, and for a short time became the General of the Fronde. This cold, grave man hoped by this means to please Madame de Longueville: every general, every party leader, every hero of romance or history thought it necessary to have a "*dame de ses pensées*," and to be in love.

The Spaniards, who took advantage of this crisis (1649) to enter France, reconciled the two parties for a short time by fear. Condé, who until then had remained faithful to the court, thought that they could not do without him, and became insupportably exacting. It was then that the name of *petits maîtres* was invented for him and the young men who surrounded him. He made both parties bid for him at the same time: it was necessary to arrest him (1650). This was a pretext for Turenne, who had just gone over to the Spaniards, and who declared that he was fighting for his deliverance. The prince's party, that of the Frondeurs, was united and sustained by Spain, and Mazarin was forced to yield. He withwrew for a time from France, and let the storm pass by; in the following year he returned, gained over Turenne, and tried in vain to carry the King back to Paris (battle of the Porte St. Antoine, 1652). In one more year both parties were thoroughly tired out, and the Parisians themselves pressed the king to return (1653). The Frondeurs crowded into Mazarin's anti-chamber. Condé and the Spaniards were beaten by the royal army, commanded by Turenne. Mazarin, allying himself without

scruple with the English Republic under Cromwell, overpowered the Spaniards. Turenne defeated them in the Battle of the Dunes (1658), which gave Dunkerque to the English, and the Peace of the Pyrenees to France (1659). The treaty of Westphalia had guaranteed to her the barriers of Artois, Alsace, and Rousillon; that of the Pyrenees gave her Gravelines, Landrecies, Thionville, and Montmédy in addition.

The young King of France married the Infanta with a dowry of 100,000 crowns, which was never paid. The Infanta renounced her right of succession to the crown of Spain. Mazarin did not object; he foresaw the value of these renunciations (1659).

Then followed the most complete triumph of royalty, the most perfect acquiescence of a people in the sovereignty of one man, that had ever existed. Richelieu had subdued the nobles and the Protestants; and the Fronde ruined the Parliament by showing what it was worth. Only the King and the people were left standing in France: the latter lived in the former.

The young Louis XIV. was perfectly suited for this magnificent part. His cold and dignified countenance reigned over France for fifty years with unimpaired majesty. During the first thirty years he sat eight hours a day at the council, reconciling business with pleasure, listening, consulting; but deciding for himself. His ministers changed, or died, but he remained always the same, accomplishing the duties, ceremonies, and festivities of royalty with the regularity of the sun which he chose for his emblem.

One of the merits of Louis XIV. was that he kept in office for twenty-two years one of the ministers who have done most for the glory of France—Colbert. He was the grandson of a wool-merchant of Rheims; his character was somewhat stiff and heavy, but he was full of solid qualities, active and indefatigable. He united the duties of Minister of the Interior, of Commerce, of the Exchequer, and even of the Admiralty, to which he appointed his son: the departments of War and Justice were all that was

wanting to make him ruler of France. From the year 1666 the War Office was in the hands of Louvois, an exact, violent, and unbending administrator, whose influence balanced that of Colbert. Louis XIV. seemed to stand between them as between his good and his bad genius; together they held this illustrious reign in equilibrium.[1]

When Colbert came into office in 1661, the taxes amounted to eighty-four millions, and the King received of them hardly thirty-two. In 1670, in spite of wars, he had raised the net revenue to seventy millions, and reduced the charges to twenty-five. His first financial operation, the reduction of interest on the debt, gave a severe shock to credit. His industrial regulations were singularly vexatious and tyrannical, but his commercial views were enlightened. He created chambers of commerce, established free markets, made roads, and secured commerce on sea by destroying the pirates. At the

[1] Administration of Louis XIV.—*Finances.*—Development of national wealth under the Ministry of Colbert, 1661—1683. Multiplied regulations. Encouragement given to manufactures (linen, silk, tapestry, mirrors, &c.), 1664—1680. Canal in Languedoc. Embellishment of Paris, 1698. Description of the Kingdom, 1660. Obstacles to trade in cereals, 1664. Reduction of interest on the National Debt, towards 1691. Financial disorder, 1695. Poll-tax, 1710. Tithe and other taxes, 1715. The National Debt amounts to 450 millions of francs. *Admiralty.*—Large Merchant Navy, 160,000 sailors, 1672. 100 men-of-war, 1681; 230, 1692. First defeat at La Hogue. *War.*—1666—1691.—Ministry of Louvois. Military Reform. Uniform, 1667.—Establishment of studs for breeding horses, 1671. Use of the bayonet. Companies of grenadiers. Regiment of huzzars. Corps of engineers. Schools of artillery. 1688.—Militia. Regular Commissary Department. Invalides, 1693. Order of St. Louis. The army raised to 450,000 men. *Legislation*, 1667.—Civil ordinances, 1670. Criminal ordinance, 1673. Commercial code, 1685. *Code noir.*—Towards 1663. Repression of duelling. *Religious Affairs.*—Struggles of Jansenism, which survives throughout the reign of Louis XIV., 1648—1709. Port Royal des Champs, 1661. Formula dictated by the French clergy, 1713. Bull *Unigenitus*, 1673. Controversy respecting the Regalia, 1682. Assembly of clergy in France, 1685—1699. Quietism, 1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1701—1704. Revolt of the Cévennes.

same time he carried a bold reform into the civil service. He forbade sales or legacies to religious bodies.

He restricted the exemptions from taxes extended by the nobles and citizens of free towns to their farmers, whom they registered as servants. He revoked in 1664 all the patents of nobility granted since 1630. He declared all salaried offices to be temporary, so as in time to suppress them.

Colbert has been reproached with encouraging commerce more than agriculture. He, however, forbade the seizure, in payment of taxes, of the beds, clothes, horses, oxen, and tools of labourers, and took only a fifth of their flocks. He maintained corn at a low price by forbidding exportation. It must be remembered that as the greater portion of the land was at that time in the hands of the nobles, encouragement to agriculture would have benefited the people less than the aristocracy; commerce was in the hands of the middle class, which was beginning to rise into importance.

This man, who had risen from a counting-house, had a sense of the grandeur of France. The principal edifices erected by Louis XIV., his finest establishments, the observatory, library and academies, all were the work of Colbert. He gave pensions to men of letters, and to artists in France, and even in other countries. "There was not one distinguished scholar," says a contemporary, "however far from France, who was not reached by the King's munificence." "Although the King is not your sovereign," Colbert wrote to Isaac Vossius of Holland, "he chooses to be your benefactor."

Such letters are admirable testimonies. One may add to them the Invalides, Dunkerque, and the canal which united the two seas. Versailles, likewise, may be included. This prodigious edifice, with which no country in the world has anything to compare, testifies to the greatness of France—united for the first time in the 17th century. Those wonderful erections of architecture and verdure, terrace above terrace, and fountain beyond fountain, those ranks of bronzes, marbles, jets and

cascades marshalled on the royal mountain; from the monsters and tritons which proclaim at its base the triumphs of the Great King, to the beautiful antique statues which crown the platform with the tranquil images of the gods,—in all this there is a grandiose idea of monarchy. Those waters which rise and fall with so much grace and majesty express the wide social circulation which then took place for the first time, power and wealth flowing from the people to the King, to return from the King to the people. The charming Latona, who presides over the garden, silences with a few drops of water the insolent clamours of the group which surrounds her; they are transformed from men into croaking frogs—an emblem of royalty triumphing over the Fronde.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

STRONG and united while most of the states of Europe were growing weaker, France[1] claimed and obtained

[1] REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED PROVINCES.

England. The military government of the Protectorate contrary to the customs of the country. The Stuarts destroy the loyalty of the English by the favours which they bestow on the Catholics, and by their alliance with Louis XIV. William and Anne win over the English by a contrary policy. However, the union between the prince and the nation is only completed under the House of Hanover.

CONTINUATION OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

1649—1660. *English Republic.* Charles II. proclaimed king in Scotland, and supported by the Irish. Cromwell subdues Ireland and Scotland. Battles of Dunbar and Worcester. 1651, Navigation Act. 1652—1654, War against Holland. 1653, Cromwell turns out the Parliament. 1653—1658, Cromwell, Protector. Alliance with France against Spain. Dunkerk given back to Cromwell. His home government. 1658. His death. 1658—1660, Richard Cromwell, Protector. His abdication. *The Rump* soon dissolved. Monk recalls the Stuarts. 1660—1685, Charles II. 1660—1667, Ministry of Clarendon. Trial of the regicides. Re-establishment of Episcopacy. Bill of Uniformity. Declaration of tolerance. Dunkerk sold to France. —1664—1667, War against Holland. Fire of London imputed to the Catholics. 1667, Disgrace of Clarendon. Revolt of the Scotch Presbyterians. 1670—1683, *The Cabal.* Secret alliance with Louis XIV. 1672—1674, War with Holland. *Test* Bill. Pretended conspiracy of the Catholics. 1679, the Duke of York excluded from succession to the throne. *Habeas Corpus* Bill. 1680, *Whigs and*

the supremacy. The Pope, having suffered the French ambassador to be grievously insulted and his hotel plundered, Louis XIV. insisted upon the most public

Tories. 1681—1685, Charles II. no longer assembles a Parliament. 1683, death of Russell and of Sidney. 1685—1688, James II. Invasion and execution of Argyle and Monmouth. Jeffreys. Solemn embassy to Rome. Exemption from the *Test.* Trial of the bishops. Policy of William Prince of Orange. 1688, he enters England. Flight of James (*see text*). 1689—1714, William III. and Mary II. —1689, Declaration of Rights. 1690—1691, War with Ireland. 1694, Triennial Parliaments. 1701, Act of Succession in favour of the House of Hanover; limitation of the Prerogative. 1702—1714, Anne. 1706, England and Scotland re-united.

United Provinces. 1647—1650, William II. 1650—1672, Vacancy of the Stadtholdership, suppressed in 1667. Administration of John de Witt. 1652—1654, 1664—1667, 1672—1674, Wars with England. Tromp and Ruyter. 1672, the Stadtholdership re-established in favour of William III. on the invasion of Holland by Louis XIV. (For the events which follow, see text.) 1702—1747, Second vacancy of the Stadtholdership, from the death of William III. to the accession of William IV. 1715, Barrier treaty.

European Colonies during the 17th Century.

In the beginning of the 17th century, the Dutch and the English snatched from Spain the empire of the seas; in the middle, they disputed with each other the possession of that empire; towards the end, they united against France, who threatened to take it. The Dutch factories were henceforth without rivals in the East, likewise the Spanish settlements in South America. But two new powers, the English and French, established themselves in the northern continent of America, and in the Antilles, and introduced themselves into India. The colonies, which in the beginning of the century were little more than private speculations authorized by the Government, assumed more and more the character of provinces of the mother-country. Wars often spread from the mother-country to the colonies; but the colonies were not yet occasions of war in Europe.

Dutch Colonies. The preponderance of the power of the Mogul hindered the Dutch from making large establishments on the continent. Masters of the islands, they occupied themselves almost exclusively with the trade in spices and drugs. There was no national emigration as in England; they were more factories than colonies. Continuation of the Dutch conquests on the coasts and in the Indian Isles. 1653, colony of the Cape of Good Hope. 1667, conquest of Surinam. 1645—1661, war in Brazil against the Portuguese.

reparation. The Pope was obliged to send away his own brother, and to raise a pyramid to perpetuate his humiliation (1664). While he was treating the Spiritual Head

English Colonies. Policy invariably favourable to the colonies in spite of the revolutions of the mother-country. Foundation of English colonies in North America (Expeditions of Raleigh from the year 1583).—1606, companies of London and Plymouth formed to conduct the trade of Virginia and New England. Foundation of the State of Massachusetts, 1621; of the town of Boston, 1627; of the States of Maryland, 1632; of Rhode Island, 1634; of New York, and of New Jersey, 1635; of Connecticut, 1636; of Carolina, 1663; of Pennsylvania, 1682; towards 1619, fisheries of Newfoundland and of Greenland. 1625—1632, establishment of the Antilles. 1655, Conquest of Jamaica. First East India Company founded, 1600. 1623, Massacre of Amboine. 1662, Acquisition of Bombay. Foundation of Calcutta. Towards 1690, war against Aureng-Zebe. 1698, Second East Indian Company. Union of the two companies in 1702. In Africa several privileged companies. Towards 1679—1680, Construction of the forts of St. James and Sierra Leone.

French Colonies. The system of the French less exclusive than that of other countries; but their principal colonies were only fisheries, factories for trade in furs, or plantations of colonial productions which were not yet the objects of universal consumption in Europe. 1625—1635, Private settlements at the Antilles, at Cayenne, and at Senegal. Colbert buys in the king's name all the colonies of the Antilles. 1630, origin of the buccaneers and filibusters. 1664, France takes under her protection their establishment at St. Domingo; that part of the island remains hers at the peace of Ryswick, 1698—1664. 1674, First privileged company in the West Indies.—1661, Nova Scotia, the possession of which is disputed by France and England, remains in possession of the former till the peace of Utrecht. 1680, Expedition of Louisiana. 1679—1685, African companies. 1664, East India companies. Attempts on Madagascar. 1675, Factory at Surat. 1679, Foundation of Pondicherry. The industrial products of India forbidden to be exported. Ruin of the Company

Danish Colonies of little importance: at Tranquebar towards 1620, and at St. Thomas, 1671.

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, ITALY.

All the Southern States seemed to have lost their energy. Portugal had recovered her independence; but abandoned by France, she turned to England, on which she became more and more dependent. Spain reached the last degree of weakness, but rose a little under a new dynasty. Italy seemed still dependent on Spain; but she felt the influence of the King of France, and of the Emperor, whose rival families were soon to quarrel for her possession.

of Christendom so severely, he defended Christian interests by sea and land; he swept the sea of the Barbary pirates (1664). He sent to the Emperor Leopold, who

Portugal. 1656—1667, Alfonso VI., successor of John IV. He allies himself with England. Victory of Schomberg over the Spaniards. 1667, Alphonso obliged to appoint his brother Regent. 1668, Peace with Spain, which acknowledges the independence of Portugal. 1669, Peace with the United Provinces, who retain their conquests over the Portuguese in the East Indies. 1667—1706, Peter II. 1703, Portugal joins the great alliance against France, and at the peace of Utrecht obtains only a better frontier for her colonies in South America. 1703, Methuen Treaty of commerce with England.

Spain. 1665—1700, Charles II., successor of Philip IV. Want of energy in the Spanish monarchy, which was repeatedly despoiled by France. Extinction of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria. Accession of the House of Bourbon. 1700—1746, Philip V. 1701—1713, War of Succession (*see* the reign of Louis XIV.)

Italy. The weakness of Spain in the 17th century seems to have allowed some liberty to the small Italian princes. Too little encouraged by France, they turned towards the emperor. Venice alone in her wars against the Turks seems to have retained some vigour. 1647—1648, Revolt of Naples under Masaniello and the Duke of Guise; Revolt of Palermo. 1674—1678, Revolt of Messina. Louis XIV. proclaimed King of Sicily. The King of France makes his supremacy in Italy again felt on three occasions. 1664, 1687, Insults against the Pope. 1684, bombardment of Genoa. 1708—1709, The Duchies of Mantua and of the Mirandola confiscated by the emperor. Grandeur of the House of Savoy under Victor Amadæus II., 1675—1730. England gives him royal dignity and the possession of Sicily in order to secure the balance of power by the treaty of Utrecht (1713).

The Empire, Hungary, Turkey.

Empire. The principal events which took place from 1648 to 1713 in the German empire seem to have prepared its dissolution: 1st, the religious and political divisions, which the treaty of Westphalia had by no means settled, induced a schism among the Protestants (creation of an *Evangelical body*); 2ndly, France, in negotiating with each prince separately, gave to all the members of the German body an individual importance; 3rdly, the elevation of the Electors of Saxony and of Hanover (later on that of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel) to foreign thrones, involved Germany in all European transactions; 4thly, the creation of the kingdom of Prussia broke the unity of the empire. Germany found, however, the principles of union in its state of hostility towards the French and the Turks, and

was engaged in a war against the Turks, some troops who played the most brilliant part in the battle of St. Gotthard.

in the foundation of *Permanent Diets.* The empire did not see at first that the ancient system had ceased to exist, and still looked to France as her protector against the House of Austria.

The Chambres de Réunion, established by Louis XIV. in Alsace, opened her eyes, and the House of Austria found itself once more at the head of the Germanic body. All-powerful under Joseph I., she again lost strength in spite of her material aggrandisement, through the incapacity of Charles VI., who, thinking only of obtaining a guarantee for his Pragmatic Sanction, continually sacrificed the present to the future. 1657, End of the reign of Ferdinand III. 1654, Formation of the *Evangelical Body.* 1656, Division of the succession of Saxony. 1658—1705, Leopold I. elected in preference to Louis XIV. and the Elector of Bavaria.

1658, League of the Rhine under the influence of France. 1663, Permanent Diet of Ratisbon. 1680, *Chambres de Réunion* of Alsace. 1685, Extinction of the Palatine branch of Zimmern. 1688, Election of the Archbishop of Cologne. 1692, Creation of a new Electorate in favour of the House of Hanover (recently increased by the succession of Saxe-Lauenburg). 1697, Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, raised to the throne of Poland. 1700—1701, Prussia constituted a kingdom under Frederick I. 1705, Confiscation of Bavaria. 1705—1711, Joseph I., Emperor. Restoration of Mantua to the empire. 1711—1740, Charles VI., Emperor. Perpetual capitulations. 1713, Charles VI.'s Pragmatic Sanction. 1714, The House of Hanover called to the throne of England in the person of the Elector George.

Hungary and Turkey. The House of Austria put an end for ever to the resistance of Hungary; made the kingdom hereditary, and after the restoration of Transylvania had no longer anything to fear from the Turks. Turkey still exhibited some vigour, but she was a prey to anarchy; she suffered the most bloody defeats, and did not compensate by her victories over the Venetians for her losses on the side of Hungary. 1655—1687, Leopold I. 1648—1687, Mahomet IV. Discontent of the Hungarians. Troubles in Translyvania. Conquests of the Turks stopped by the victory of Montecuculi at St. Gotthard, 1644. *Truce of Temeswar;* the Turks keep their conquests (1669). Candia taken from the Venetians by the Turks after a blockade of twenty years. New troubles in Hungary. Execution of the Counts, Zrini, Frangepani, &c. Religious persecutions. Suppression of the title of Palatine. 1677, Civil War. Tekeli supported by the Turks. 1683, Vienna beseiged by the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, and rescued by Sobieski. Venice and Russia take part with Austria. Victories of Charles of Lorraine,

Against whom did France intend to exercise the strength which she thus exhibited? There were only two Western powers: the return of the Stuarts having

of Louis of Baden, and of Prince Eugène. 1686, Conquest of the part of Hungary which had been subdued by the Turks, of Transylvania, and of Sclavonia. 1687, Diet of Presburg; the throne of Hungary declared hereditary. 1687—1740, Joseph I., Charles VI. 1687—1730, Solyman III., Achmet II., Mustapha II., Achmet III. The Austrians invade Bulgaria, Servia, and Bothnia, soon, however, retaken by the Grand Vizier, Mustapha Kiuperli. 1691, Defeat and death of Kiuperli at Salankemen. 1697, Defeat of the Sultan, Mustapha II., at Zentha. 1699, *Peace of Carlowitz;* the Emperor master of Hungary (except Temeswar and Belgrade), of Transylvania, and Sclavonia. The Porte gives up the Morea to the Venetians, Kaminiec to the Poles, and Azof to the Russians. 1703, Revolt of the Hungarians and Transylvanians under Francis Rakoczi, subdued in 1711. 1715, The Morea re-conquered from the Venetians by the Turks. The Emperor Charles VI., the Pope, and the King of Spain join the Venetians. Siege of Corfu. 1666, Victory of Prince Eugène at Peterwaradin; 1717, before Belgrade. 1718, *Peace of Passarowitz.* The Venetians lose the Morea; the Emperor gains Temeswar, Belgrade, and a part of Wallachia and of Servia.

NORTHERN STATES, CHARLES XII. AND PETER THE GREAT.

Sweden, which, from the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, exercised an influence beyond her real strength, was still supreme, and tended towards the Empire of the North. Charles Gustavus, more skilled in war than in politics, only succeeded in securing to her the coasts of the Baltic. After him the Senate, which governed, sold its alliance to France, and compromised the military glory of Sweden. Once more united under the power of the crown, Sweden again became victorious, and realised for a moment under Charles XII. all the projects of Charles Gustavus. But she fell back, exhausted by her heroic efforts, into the place which her weakness and the greatness of Russia marked out for her henceforth. Denmark seemed to profit less than Sweden by the establishment of absolute power. She saw the supremacy of the North pass from Sweden to Russia, as formerly it passed from Poland to Sweden. But the thing of most consequence to her was that any other power than Sweden should have the preponderance in the Baltic. Poland received with the constitution new elements of anarchy. She needed a legislator; John Sobieski was only a hero. The new brilliancy which she acquired under him belonged entirely to the sovereign. With the eighteenth century began for Poland an age of dependence on strangers; the

rendered England insignificant. These powers were Spain and Holland, the conquered and the conquerors. Spain was still the *great ship whose prow was in the Indian*

religious dissensions developed within her caused the annihilation of Poland as an independent state towards the end of the century. Russia having as yet no regular organization, had not any powerful external influence. She yielded at first to Sweden, but acquired an ever-increasing ascendency over Poland. The levelling of ranks made way for the establishment of absolute power, which was to confer internal organization and external influence on Russia. Under Peter the Great all her strength was concentrated in the hand of the sovereign. Russia cleared the way to the three seas which surround her, and became in one single reign an European nation and the dominant power of the North.

NORTHERN STATES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

Sweden and Denmark. 1654, Abdication of Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. 1654—1660, Charles Gustavus, tenth of that name. He breaks the truce with Poland. 1656, Battle of Warsaw. 1657, The Czar Alexis, Emperor Leopold, King of Denmark, Frederick III., and Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg, league themselves against Sweden; Charles Gustavus evacuates Poland and invades Denmark. 1658, Peace of Rothschild, soon broken by the King of Sweden. He is defeated before Copenhagen. Intervention of Holland. 1660, Death of Charles Gustavus; minority of Charles XI. 1660, *Treaty of Copenhagen:* Denmark surrenders up to Sweden the provinces of Scania, of Blecking, of Halland, and of Bahus. *Treaty of Oliva:* The King of Poland renounces his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, and gives up to her the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia; he acknowledges the independence of ducal Prussia. 1661, *Treaty of Kardis:* Russia restores to Sweden her conquests in Livonia. 1675—1679, Reverses of Sweden allied to Louis XIV. Superiority of Denmark, allied to the Elector of Brandenburg. 1679, Sweden recovers her provinces at the Peace of Nimeguen. The Governments of Denmark (1660) and of Sweden (1680), formerly aristocratic, become purely monarchical. 1680, The kingdom of Denmark declared by the States to be hereditary and absolute. 1680, 1683, 1698, The King of Sweden set free by the States from the domination of the Senate, and declared absolute; forced union of the royal possessions. 1680—1697, Sweden under Charles XI., increases her forces, as if in preparation for the war which she will have to carry on in the beginning of the 18th century. 1660—1669, The power of Denmark increased in the same way by the new form of government under

Ocean, and whose poop was in the Atlantic; but the vessel had been dismasted and unrigged and had foundered on the coast, in the tempest of Protestantism. A gale of

Frederick III. and Christian V., is weakened by the quarrel of the two branches of the royal family (the reigning branch and the ducal branch of Holstein-Gottorp); this quarrel will be the occasion of a general war in the north.

Poland. 1648—1674, The unfortunate reigns of John Casimir and Michael Wiesniowicki. 1652, Origin of the *liberum veto.* Casimir in vain tries to obtain for successor the son of the great Condé. 1647—1667, Revolt of the Cossacks, supported by the Tartars and (after 1654) by the Russians. 1668, Abdication of John Casimir. 1671, New wars with the Cossacks, supported by the Turks. 1673, Victory of John Sobieski over the Turks at Choczim. 1664—1791, John Sobieski. This hero defends Poland against the Turks, and delivers Austria; but he is obliged, in 1686, to buy the alliance of the Russians against the Ottomans, by giving up to them Smolensko, Tschernigow, Novogorod-Severskoi, Kiovia, Little Prussia, and the sovereignty of the *Zaporogian* Cossacks. 1697, Election of Augustus II., Elector of Saxony.

Russia. 1648—1688, Alexis *Michaïlowitsch.* Russia begins to increase in importance at the expense of Poland. Internal troubles. 1676—1682, Feodore II., *Alexiewitsch.* Abolition of the hereditary rank, and privileges of the nobles. 1682—1689, Ivan V. and Peter I., their sister Sophia governs in their name. 1685, Revolt of the Strelitz. 1689, Peter *the Great* alone.

Northern States in the Beginning of the 18th Century. Charles XII. and Peter the Great.

1699, Secret Alliance of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia against Sweden. 1700, Invasion of Schleswig by the Danes and of Livonia by the King of Poland and by the Czar. Charles XII. disembarks in Zealand, and, assisted by the English and Dutch, obliges Frederick IV. to sign the Peace of Traventhal. Victory of the King of Sweden over the Russians at Narva. 1702—1706, More victories over the Poles and the Saxons. Charles XII. causes the deposition of Augustus and the elevation to the throne of Poland of Stanislas Leczinski. 1706, Invasion of Saxony; Augustus renounces the crown of Poland. 1708, Charles XII. attacks Peter the Great, who has just invaded a part of Ingria, of Livonia, and of Poland. He penetrates into Ukrania. 1709, Defeat of Charles XII. before Pultawa. Renewal of the alliance between Augustus II., Frederick IV., and Peter the Great against Sweden. Augustus II. re-established in Poland. Invasion of Holstein and Scania, of the Swedish provinces in Germany, and definitive conquest of Ingria, Livonia, and

wind had carried away her long-boat Holland, another had deprived her of Portugal and uncovered her side, a third had torn away the East Indies. The remainder, vast and imposing, but inert and motionless, was calmly awaiting its destruction.

On the one hand, there was Holland, a little nation, but obstinate, laborious, and taciturn, and effecting

Carelia. 1709—1713, Charles XII., having taken refuge at Bender, excites the Turks against the Russians. His hopes destroyed by the Treaty of Pruth. 1714, Return of Charles XII. to Sweden. 1715, League of Russia, Denmark, and Poland with Prussia and England against Sweden. Ministry of Goertz. Negotiation with Peter the Great. 1718, Charles XII. killed before Friedrichshall in Norway. 1719, 1720, 1721, *Treaties of Stockholm and of Nystadt.* Sweden surrenders Bremen and Werden to Hanover; Stettin and a part of Pomerania to Prussia; she recognizes Frederick Augustus, King of Poland; she renounces with regard to Denmark the exemption from paying toll on the Sound, and guarantees to her the possession of Schleswig: finally she abandons Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia to Russia. These immense losses, and especially the decline of royal authority, deprive Sweden of all political influence for half a century. 1689—1725, *Reign of Peter the Great.*—Large views of this prince, who carries out the plans of Ivan III. and Ivan IV. (1) He undertakes to civilize Russia and to make her resemble other European nations; he invites foreigners; and himself travels extensively; first (1697), in Holland and in England for instruction in the mechanical arts and in navigation; secondly, in (1717) Germany, in Denmark, and in France, for the better understanding of political interests in Europe. (2) He makes Russia a maritime power. To open the navigation in the Black Sea, he attacks the Turks, and takes from them, in 1696, the Port of Azof, which he loses again in 1711; to open the navigation of the Baltic, he makes war on Sweden (1700—1721), and founds in 1703 St. Petersburg, which becomes the capital of his empire. Towards the beginning of his reign he gives a new importance to the Port of Archangel, on the White Sea, and towards the end (1722) he takes from the Persians Derbent, on the Caspian Sea. (3) He overturns every obstacle to absolute power; he suppresses the Strelitz, 1698; he abolishes the Patriarchal dignity, 1721. Organization of the army schools; reformation of finances, of legislation, of ecclesiastical discipline, and of the calendar, police, manufactures, canals, caravan trade with China. The Fort Menzikoff. Peter marries Catherine, 1707; has his son Alexis condemned to death, 1718; takes the title of Emperor, 1721; ordains that reigning princes may name their successors.

many great things. First of all they lived, in spite of the ocean—this was the first miracle; they next salted their cheese and their herrings, and transmuted their unsavoury barrels into barrels of gold; they then made this gold fruitful by putting it out to interest. Their gold pieces begot others. By the middle of the 17th century they had taken as much as they pleased of the spoils of Spain, had deprived her of the sea, and of the Indies. The Spanish Netherlands were declared in a state of siege, by virtue of a treaty. Spain had signed the closing of the Scheldt and the ruin of Antwerp (1648). The Belgians were forbidden to sell the produce of their soil.

Such was the condition of the West when France attained the summit of her strength. The land still belonged to Spain, and the sea to Holland. The work of France in the seventeenth century was to dismember the one and enfeeble the other. The former task was easier than the latter. France had already an army, but not yet a navy. She began therefore by Spain. At first France allied herself apparently with Holland against Spain and England, who were fighting for the dominion of the sea. France promised assistance to the Dutch, but she allowed the three powers to damage each other's vessels and to exhaust their fleets in some of the most obstinate naval battles which had ever been waged. Then, Philip IV. being dead (1667), Louis XIV., in virtue of the civil law in the Low Countries, pretended that his wife, the eldest daughter of the deceased, ought to succeed in preference to the younger son (right of devolution). She had indeed renounced the succession, but the promised dowry had not been paid. The French army entered Flanders in all the pomp of the new reign: Turenne at the head, the King, ministers, and ladies in the gilded court equipages; then Vauban, who, as fast as they advanced, established himself in the towns and fortified them. Flanders was taken in two months. Even in the winter when war was supposed to be suspended (January 1668), the troops defiled through Champagne into Burgundy, and fell upon Franche Comté. Spain had not expected an attack. The

authorities of the country had been bought up beforehand. It was all over in seventeen days. The court of Spain wrote in indignation to the governor that *the King of France should have sent his lacqueys to take the province instead of coming himself.* This rapid success reconciled Spain to Holland. The latter did not care to have the great King for a neighbour. The Dutch began to take an interest in Spain, to defend her, and to unite in her favour with England and Sweden; the Dutch had the dexterity to induce England to ask them to form this union. Three Protestant nations took up arms to defend Catholic Spain against Catholic France. This curious event shows how far they already were from the 16th century and the religious wars (triple alliance of the Hague, 1668). Louis XIV. was obliged to content himself with French Flanders, and to restore Franche Comté.

Holland had protected Spain and forced France to retire. A citizen, an alderman of Amsterdam, came to warn the King, in the midst of his glory, to go no further. Insulting medals had been struck. It was said that the chief alderman of Amsterdam had himself represented with a sun, and this motto, *In conspectu meo stetit sol.*

Henceforth the struggle was between France and Holland. The former could not advance a step without encountering the latter. To begin with, the King bought, for a sum down, the alliance of England and Sweden. Charles II., who had already betrayed England by selling Mardyck and Dunkerk to France, once more sold the interests of his country. The nation was promised some of the Dutch islands, the king money for his festivities and his mistresses, — the young and fascinating Duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law of Louis XIV. and sister of Charles II., negotiating, in a triumphal visit, her brother's shame. She was the princess who died so young and so lamented, in honour of whom Corneille and Racine each composed their tragedies of "Bérénice," and Bossuet recited his famous funeral oration.

The army of Louis XIV. had been carried to 180,000 men. It received its formidable organization from Louvois. The bayonet, which became such an effective weapon in French hands, was introduced at this period. The indefatigable genius of Colbert had created a navy. France, which had formerly been obliged to borrow ships from Holland, had one hundred vessels of her own in 1672. Five naval arsenals were established—Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Dunkerk, and Havre. Dunkerk was unfortunately destroyed; but Toulon, and likewise Brest, —with its vast establishment and mountains cut down to make room for vessels—still testify to the herculean efforts made at that time by France in her perilous struggle with Holland for the dominion of the ocean.

Holland held the sea and thought that she held everything. The naval party governed, the De Witts at the council, and Ruyter on the waves; the De Witts, statesmen, geometricians, and pilots, were sworn enemies of the land-party, of the House of Orange, and of the Stadtholders. They seemed to forget that Holland was connected with the continent; they considered her as an island. The fortresses were falling into ruins, Holland had 25,000 worthless troops, and this when the French frontier had advanced until it almost touched her own.

Suddenly 100,000 men moved from France towards Holland (1672). "It was," says Temple, "a thunder clap in a fair sky." They left behind them Maestricht, which they did not care to take; seized Guelder, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel; they were four leagues distant from Amsterdam. Nothing could save Holland; her only allies, Spain and Brandenburg, would not have stayed the hand of Louis XIV. The conqueror alone might save her by his blunders, and he did so. Condé and Turenne wished the fortresses to be dismantled; Louvois that they might be garrisoned, the effect of which was to scatter the army. The King listened to Louvois. They trusted in stone walls to secure the possession of Holland: thus Holland escaped. In the first moment the amphibious republic wanted to throw herself into the sea and embark

with her wealth for Batavia. The war diminished its fury, and she regained the hope of resisting on land; the people fell upon the chiefs of the naval party—the De Witts. They were torn in pieces; and De Ruyter expected the same fate. All the forces of the republic were confided to the young William of Orange.

This general of twenty-two, who for his first essay undertook, almost without an army, to make head against the greatest sovereign in the world, concealed within a feeble, sickly body the cold, hard obstinacy of his grandfather, William the Taciturn, the adversary of Philip II. He was a man of bronze, strange to every feeling of nature and humanity. Brought up by the De Witts, he compassed their ruin. Stuart by his mother's side, he overturned the Stuarts; son-in-law of James II., he dethroned him and left the England which he had taken from his own relations to the objects of his hatred, the princes of the House of Hanover. He had but one passion, but that was overwhelming—hatred of France. It is said that at the peace of Nimeguen, when he endeavoured to surprise Luxembourg, he was already aware of the treaty, but he still thirsted for French blood. He was not more successful than usual. It is a remarkable fact that this great and intrepid general always made war in retreat; but his admirable retreats were as good as victories.

At first, in order to defend Holland, he drowned her; he opened the sluices, while Ruyter held the sea by beating the English and French, and bringing his victorious fleet to anchor in the inundated plain of Amsterdam. William next armed against France, Spain, and Austria. He separated England from Louis XIV. Charles II. was forced by his parliament to sign a peace. The Catholic neighbours of Holland, the Bishop of Münster, the Elector of Cologne, then Brandenburg, Denmark, the Empire and the whole of Europe, declared themselves against Louis XIV. (1674).

It was then necessary to abandon the Dutch fortresses; Louis was obliged to retreat. As usual compensation was

made at the expense of Spain. Louis XIV. took Franche Comté, which has continued to be part of France. In the Low Countries, Condé, whose force was the weaker by 20,000 men, challenged the Prince to the furious battle of Senef. Condé conquered; but it was a victory for the Prince of Orange to have held his ground with no more loss than was sustained by Condé. On the Rhine, Turenne, who, according to Buonaparte, became more daring as he grew older, held the whole Empire in check. Twice he saved Alsace, twice he penetrated into Germany. It was then that, on an order from Louvois, the Palatinate was ravaged. The Palatine was secretly allied with the Emperor: Louis wished to leave only a desert to the Imperialists.

Turenne, on his return to Germany, was about to strike a decisive blow, when he was killed at Salzbach (1675). Condé's infirmities obliged him to retire in the same year.

The destiny of France was then seen not to depend on a single man. The allies, who fancied her disarmed by the retirement of the two great generals, failed to break through the frontier of the Rhine, and lost in the Low Countries the towns of Condé, Bouchain, Aire, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Ghent and Ypres. Duquesne, who had been sent to succour Messina in revolt against Spain, fought a terrible naval battle with Ruyter within sight of Mount Etna: the allies alone lost in it twelve ships, six galleys, 7,000 men, 700 guns, and, what was worth all the rest, Ruyter. Duquesne destroyed their fleet in a second battle. (1677.)

The allies at that time wished for peace: France and Holland also were exhausted. Colbert determined to resign if the war went on. The peace of Nimeguen was once more favourable to France. She kept Franche Comté and twelve strong places in the Netherlands, she received Fribourg in exchange for Philipsburg. Denmark and Brandenburg restored what they had taken from Sweden, the ally of France. Holland alone lost nothing and the great European question remained unaltered. (1678).

This was the culminating point of the reign of Louis XIV. Europe had risen against him and he had resisted her attack: he was greater than ever. It was then that he accepted the title of Louis "the Great." The Duke of La Feuillade went still farther. He kept a light burning before the King's statue as if on an altar. It was like the worship of the Roman Emperors.

The brilliant literature of this period is nothing but a hymn in praise of royalty. The voice heard above all others was that of Bossuet. It is thus that Bossuet himself, in his "Discourse on Universal History," describes the Kings of Egypt as praised in the temples by the priests in the presence of their gods. The first period of the great reign, that of Descartes, of Port Royal, of Pascal and Corneille, did not present the same unanimity; literature was still animated by a ruder and freer spirit.

At the period we have now reached Molière had just died (1673), Racine had completed "Phèdre" (1677), La Fontaine was writing the last six books of his Fables (1678), and Madame de Sévigné her Letters. Bossuet was composing his "Knowledge of God and of Oneself" and preparing the "Discourse on Universal History" (1681). The Abbé Fénelon, still young, and only the director of a convent of young girls, was living under the patronage of Bossuet, who fancied him his disciple. Bossuet was the leader of the triumphal chorus of the great century, secure with regard both to the past and the future, between Jansenism which was disappearing and Quietism which had not yet risen,—between the austere Pascal and the mystic Fénelon. Cartesianism, however, was being pushed to its most formidable extremities; Malebranche made the human mind return to God; and in Protestant Holland, now struggling with Catholic France, there was about to open—for the absorption alike of Catholicism, of Protestantism, of liberty, of morality, of Religion and of the whole world—the bottomless gulf of Spinoza.

Meanwhile Louis XIV. reigned over Europe. The proof of sovereignty is jurisdiction. He chose that other powers should recognize the decisions of his Parliaments.

The Court called "Chambres de Réunion" interpreted the treaty of Nimeguen to mean that with the strong places the dependencies belonging to them should be reunited. One of these dependencies was no less than Strasburg (1681). Obedience was delayed: Louis bombarded Luxembourg (1684). He bombarded Algiers (1683), Tripoli (1685); he bombarded Genoa and would have crushed her in her marble palaces if the Doge had not come to Versailles to ask pardon (1684). He bought Casale, the gate of Italy; he built Huninguen, the door of Switzerland. He interfered in the Empire; he wished to make an Elector of Cologne (1689). In the name of his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, he claimed a portion of the Palatinate, invoking in this as in the case of Flanders civil against feudal rights. The decisions of civil law were sustained by force; Europe disarmed, while Louis XIV. remained in arms; he carried his fleet to 230 ships: towards the end of his reign his army amounted to more than 400,000 men.

At the same time the monarchy attained the highest possible centralisation. The two obstacles, papal power and Protestant opposition, were annulled. In 1673 an edict declared all the Bishoprics in the kingdom subject to the "régale."[1] In 1682 an assembly of thirty-five Bishops of whom Bossuet was the soul decided that "the Pope has no authority except in spiritual matters;" "that in these very matters the General Councils are superior to him, and that his decisions are infallible only after they have been accepted by the Church." From that time the Pope refused Bulls to all the Bishops and Abbés appointed by the King, so that in 1689 there were twenty-nine dioceses in France without Bishops. There was a question of establishing a Patriarchate. In 1687 the Pope wanted to abolish the right of asylum enjoyed by all the ambassadors in Rome for their own residences. Louis XIV. alone stood out, and the French ambassador entered Rome at the head of 800 men and maintained his privileges at the point of the sword.

[1] In the gift of the crown.—*Tr.*

Louis XIV. silenced his conscience in this matter by crushing the Protestants while he humiliated the Pope. Richelieu had destroyed them as a political party, but he left them their places in Parliament, their synods, and a portion of their interior organization. He vainly flattered himself that he would overcome them by persuasion. Louis XIV. tried money, and thought that he had made great progress by this means: every morning he was told that a new centre or town had been converted; only a little vigour was requisite, it was said, to accomplish the unity of the Church and of France (Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685). This was the idea of most of the great men of the time, particularly of Bossuet. The employment of violence in matters of faith, the application of temporal evil to cure eternal evil, shocked nobody. It must be owned that there still was great exasperation against the Protestants. France, limited in her victories by Holland, felt that there was another Holland in her bosom, which, it was said, rejoiced over the success of the former. As long as Colbert lived he protected them; excluded from posts under Government they had turned their activity towards manufactures and commerce; they no longer troubled France, they enriched her. After Colbert, Louis XIV. was governed by Louvois, the enemy of Colbert, and by Madame de Maintenon, whom he secretly married towards 1685. Born a Calvinist, and the grand-daughter of the famous Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, one of the chiefs of the Huguenot opposition against Henri IV., this discreet and judicious person had abjured her creed, and wished to force her fellow-Protestants to do likewise; she had a cold heart, which the privations of her early life seem to have hardened and dried up. She had been married to the author of the "Æneid Travestied"—Scarron the Cripple—before she became the wife of Louis the Great. She never had a child; she was unacquainted with maternal love. It was she who advised the most odious measure in this persecution, to take away children from their parents in order to convert them.

The power of Louis XIV. met its boundary abroad in the Protestant opposition of Holland. At home he found it in the resistance of the Calvinists. The Government finding itself disobeyed for the first time, exhibited a savage violence which was not natural to Louis XIV. Vexations of every kind, confiscation, the galleys, the wheel, the gibbet, every means was employed. The dragoons, who were quartered in numbers upon the Calvinists, helped the missionaries after their fashion. The King did not know the tenth part of the excesses which were committed. It was in vain that exit from the kingdom was forbidden, the possessions of the fugitives confiscated, and those who favoured their escape sent to the galleys. The State lost 200,000 subjects, some say 500,000. They escaped in crowds; they established themselves in England, Holland, Germany, especially in Prussia, and became afterwards the most inveterate enemies to France. William of Orange charged the French more than once at the head of a French regiment. He owed his success in Ireland in a great measure to old Marshal Schomberg, who preferred his religion to his country. The infernal machine, which nearly blew up St. Malo in 1693, was invented by a refugee.

It was just at this time that most of the European powers formed the Alliance of Augsburg (1686). Catholics and Protestants, William and Innocent XI., Sweden and Savoy, Denmark and Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg — all the world combined against Louis XIV. Among other things he was accused of having, by his intelligence with the revolutionists in Hungary, opened Germany to the Turks, and brought about the frightful invasion from which Vienna was saved by John Sobieski. Louis XIV. had only the King of England, James II., on his side. An unexpected revolution overthrew James and gave England to William. The second and last catastrophe of the Stuarts, prepared long before by the shameful government of Charles II., occurred under his brother's reign. James did not imitate the hypocritical tergiversations of Charles; he was brave, narrow-minded,

and obstinate; he declared himself a Catholic and a Jesuit (this was the literal truth); he did all he could to ensure a fall, and he fell. His son-in-law, William, was called from Holland and took his place without striking a blow (1688).

Louis XIV. gave James II. a magnificent reception and took up his cause; he challenged the whole of Europe; he declared war on England, Holland, on the Empire, and on Spain. While the French Calvinists were strengthening the armies of the League, crowds of all nations came to serve in the armies of Louis XIV. He had regiments of Hungarians and Irish. One day that he was complimented on the success of the French army, "Say, rather," he replied, "the army of France."

This second period of the reign of Louis XIV. was filled by two Wars of Succession: succession to the English and succession to the Spanish crown. The former war was terminated honourably for France, by the Treaty of Ryswick (1698); and yet the result was against her, for William was recognised. In the second war (terminated by the peaces of Utrecht and Rastadt, 1712-14) France sustained the most humiliating reverses, and the result was in her favour. Spain, secured to a grandson of Louis XIV., was henceforth open to the influence of France.

To these results we must add the elevation of two secondary States, indispensable in future to the balance of power in Europe—Prussia and Piedmont—which may be defined as German and Italian resistance. Prussia, at the same time German and Sclavonic, gradually absorbed Northern Germany, and served as a counterpoise to Austria. The kingdom of Savoy and Piedmont guarded the Alps and closed them in her Italian character against France, and in her French character against Italy.

One must note beforehand these excellent and useful results as a consolation for the many reverses in store for France.

In 1689 she gave a cruel defiance to Germany. She placed a desert between herself and her enemies. The

whole Palatinate was burned for the second time—Spires, Worms, more than forty towns and villages, were fired. Two generals reigned in Flanders and in the Alps—Luxembourg and Catinat; it was Condé and Turenne over again. Luxembourg, full of inspiration, and sudden in his movements, made war like a fine gentleman: he was often surprised, but never beaten. After the skilful battles of Fleurus, Steinkerk, and Neerwinden (1680—92—95), whence he carried away so many standards, he was called the "Upholsterer of Notre Dame." This brilliant general was ill-favoured by nature. William of Orange said "Shall I never be able to beat that little hunchback?"

Catinat treated war as a science. He was a soldier of fortune, one of a family of lawyers; he began life as an advocate, and was the first instance of a plebeian general. He bore some resemblance to the generals of antiquity. He made his way slowly by force of merit; it was long before he obtained a command, and he never was a favourite. He asked for nothing, received little, and often refused. The soldiers, who liked his simplicity and good nature, called him "Father Thoughtful" (le Père la Pensée). The court made use of him with regret. When he had beaten the Duke of Savoy at Staffarde, taken Saluces, and forced the enemy at Susa (1690), Louvois wrote to him: "Although you have served the King rather ill in this campaign, his Majesty is willing to confer on you the ordinary gratification." Catinat never took offence at anything; he bore with the same patience the rough speeches of Louvois, and the hardships of the Alpine war.

The severest blows were dealt in Ireland and on sea. Louis XIV. wanted to restore the influence of France in England. He conveyed James to Ireland: he sent him one reinforcement after another, and fleet upon fleet. James failed. The odious assistance of the French and Irish confirmed the English in their hatred of him. Instead of stirring up Scotland, where he was expected, he remained in Ireland: he amused himself by sieges,

and was beaten at the Boyne. Louis XIV. was not discouraged; he gave James money to arm and equip 30,000 men, and he tried to send 20,000; Tourville and d'Estrées were to escort them with seventy-five ships. D'Estrées was delayed by the wind, and Tourville found himself with forty-four vessels against eighty-four. He asked the Court for orders; Louis XIV. believed in his own good fortune, and ordered him to force the passage. This terrible battle of La Hogue cost France only seventeen ships, but the pride and confidence of her navy perished. It was reduced, in 1707, to thirty-five vessels; and revived only a short time under Louis XVI. England may date her dominion of the seas from the battle of La Hogue (1692). Louis XIV. struck one of his medals with a figure of Neptune in a menacing attitude, and these words of the poet, "*Quos ego.*" The Dutch struck another with the following legend: "*Maturate fugam, regique hæc dicite vestro: Non illi imperium pelagi.*"

The terrible ravages of the Corsairs, of such men as John Bart and Duguay Trouin, the bloody battle of Neerwinden gained by Luxembourg, and the success of Catinat at Marsiglia (1693), gradually disposed the allies to treat. The Duke of Savoy was the first to yield. The war was over for him: all his fortresses were in the hands of the French. He was offered them back again, and for his daughter the reversal of the crown of France. She was to marry the Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of Louis XIV., and heir to the throne. The defection of Savoy (1696) was followed in time by that of the other allies. France kept Rousillon, Artois, the Franche Comté, and Strasburg; but she recognised William: in reality she was beaten. (Peace of Ryswick, 1696.)

This peace was no more than a truce granted to the sufferings of the people. Europe was occupied with a great event; the question was no longer of some province or other of Spain, but of the whole of the Spanish monarchy, including Naples, the Low Countries, and the

Indies. Charles V. extended himself alive in his coffin, and was present at his own funeral. Charles VI., the last of his descendants, beheld that of the monarchy. This man, decrepit at thirty-nine, governed by his wife, his mother, and his confessor, under the influence of all who approached him, was constantly making and unmaking his will. The King of France, the Emperor, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Savoy, all sons of Spanish princesses, were disputing his spoils beforehand. Sometimes the Bavarian gained the ascendant, sometimes the Austrian prince: sometimes they talked of partition. The poor King saw it all, and was indignant. He was determined, in spite of his ignorance and indecision, to guarantee the unity of the monarchy of Spain. He chose the prince who would be most able to maintain this unity—a grandson of Louis XIV. He then had the tombs in the Escurial opened, exhumed his father and mother and his first wife, and kissed their bones. It was not long before he joined them (1700).

Louis XIV. accepted the legacy with all its difficulties. He sent his second grandson to Spain—the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Philip V. On his departure he addressed these words to him: "The Pyrenees have disappeared." The immediate consequence was an European war. At the same time, in spite of the advice of his ministers, he decided on recognizing the son of James II. as Prince of Wales, thus supporting simultaneously the succession to Spain and to England.

It was, however, very late for undertaking such a war. He had reigned for fifty-seven years, he had grown old himself, and all around him was old. France seemed to have faded with the old age of her King. One by one his glories seemed to be vanishing: Colbert was dead, and Louvois was dead (1682, 1691); likewise Arnaud, Boileau, Racine, La Fontaine, and Madame de Sévigné. Soon the grand voice of the century (Bossuet) would be no more heard (1704). Instead of Colbert and Louvois, France had Chamillart, who united their offices. Chamillart was governed by Madame de Maintenon, and

Madame de Maintenon by Babbien, her old maidservant. It was strange that England likewise was governed by a woman after William and Mary—by Queen Anne, the daughter of James II. and granddaughter, through her mother, of the historian Clarendon; as Madame de Maintenon was of Agrippa d'Aubigné.

The government, although in the hands of citizens recently raised to the nobility (Chamillart, Le Tellier, Pontchartrain, &c.), was none the less favourable to the nobles. Prodigiously increased of late, standing aloof from commerce and manufactures, scornful and incapable, they had invaded the antechamber, the army, and especially the Government offices. The lesser nobles had their choice between becoming officers or officials. There were soon as many officers as soldiers, as many administrators as administered. The great nobles bought regiments for their little children, commanded armies, and allowed themselves to be beaten at Cremona and Hochstadt.

There were at that time at the head of the allied armies two men who were capable of taking advantage of all this, an Englishman and a Frenchman — Marlborough and Eugène. The latter, a cadet of the house of Savoy, but son of the Count of Soissons and one of Mazarin's nieces, may be called a Frenchman. Marlborough, the "handsome Englishman," was cold and acute; he had studied under Turenne, and gave back to France the lessons which he had learnt from her. Eugène, although Vendôme called him "a miserable charlatan," was a man of extraordinary tact, who cared little for rules, but who was thoroughly acquainted with places, things, and people, and knew the strong and weak points of the enemy. His most splendid and easiest victories were over the half-civilized Ottomans. This gifted general, who always appeared at the right moment, gained his victories alternately at both ends of Europe, over Louis the Great and over the Turks, and apparently saved both liberty and Christianity.

Both these generals had this great advantage in war,

that they were supreme in their own countries; in the summer they fought and in the winter they governed and negotiated: they had carte blanche, and were not forced on the eve of a battle to write to Versailles to obtain leave to conquer.

In 1701, Catinat gave up his command to the magnificent Villeroi, whom the Prince Eugène seized in his bed at Cremona. Eugène gained nothing by this feat. Villeroi was replaced by Vendôme, a grandson of Henri IV., and a thorough soldier, although effeminate in his habits. Vendôme, like his brother the Grand Prior, stayed in bed till four in the afternoon. He was one of the youngest generals of Louis XIV.; he was only fifty. The soldiers adored him even for his faults. There was little order, foresight, or discipline in his army, but much daring and gaiety. He repaired all his blunders by his gallantry.

Catinat commanded in the German campaign, and under him was Villars. The latter, impatient of the prudence of his chief, won rashly the battle of Friedlingen (1702); then penetrating into Germany he gained once more, in spite of the Elector of Bavaria, the ally of Louis XIV., the battle of Hochstadt (1703). Villars excited the enthusiasm of his soldiers by his bravery, his boasting, and his fine military figure. At Friedlingen they proclaimed him Marshal of France on the field of battle.

The road to Austria was just open when they heard that the Duke of Savoy had placed himself in opposition to France and Spain—against his two sons-in-law (1703). Until this movement the Allies had reaped no signal advantage over France, notwithstanding that she was fighting on all her frontiers and at home: against the world and against herself. The Calvinists of the Cévennes, exasperated by the clergy and by their Governor, Basville, had been in arms ever since 1702. Villars and Berwick, among other generals, were sent to subdue them. The latter was a Stuart, a natural son of James II., and became one of the first tacticians of the time.

Villars was away in Languedoc, and Catinat had

retired when the army in Germany, under Generals de Marsin and Tallard, suffered at Hochstadt, on the very theatre of Villars' victory, one of the most terrible defeats ever experienced by France. They had entered Germany incautiously, and were on the road to Vienna when Marlborough and Eugène cut them off. Their disposition was so unskilful that, besides those who were killed, 14,000 men yielded without the possibility of striking a blow (1704). Villars arrived in time to cover Lorraine, while Vendôme gained an advantage over Eugène in the bloody engagement of Cassano (1705). In 1706 Vendôme was replaced in Italy by La Feuillade. France suffered two signal defeats. At Turin, Eugène deprived her of all her Italian possessions; at Ramillies, Marlborough drove her out of the Spanish Netherlands.

In 1707, the Allies penetrated into France through Provence; in 1708, through Flanders (defeat of Oudenarde). 1709 was a terrible year: first a deadly winter followed by a famine. Want was felt in all directions. The King's servants were begging at the doors of Versailles; Madame de Maintenon ate black bread. Whole companies of cavalry deserted, their colours flying, to gain their bread by plunder. The recruiting officers had to take men by force. Taxation assumed every form in order to reach the people,—the common incidents of their lives were taxed, they paid for being born and for dying. The peasants, pursued into the woods by the tax-gatherers, armed themselves and took the town of Castries by assault. The King could no longer borrow even at 400 per cent. Before the death of Louis XIV. the debt reached nearly three billions.

The Allies also suffered. England ruined herself in order to ruin France. But Europe was led by two men who chose to have war, and the humiliation of Louis XIV. was a delightful sight to them. His ambassadors were answered only by derisive proposals. He was told that he must undo his own work and dethrone Philip V. He condescended even to offer money to the Allies to support the war against his grandson. But this was not

enough, they insisted upon his driving Philip out himself, and that a French army should be sent against a French prince.

The venerable King then declared that he would put himself at the head of his nobles and go to the frontier to die. For the first time he turned to his people, he took them for his judges, and rose by his own humiliation. The way in which the French fought this year (1709), shows how national the war had become. On the 9th of September, near the village of Malplaquet, the soldiers, who had had no food for a whole day, had just received their rations; they threw their bread away in order to fight again. Villars was carried, seriously wounded, off the field; the army retired in good order, having lost less than 8,000 men; the Allies left 15,000 or 20,000 on the ground. In Spain, the throne of Philip V., founded by Berwick at Almanza (1707), was secured at Villaviciosa by Vendôme (1710); he put the young King to sleep upon a bed of standards. Nevertheless the elevation of the Archduke Charles to the Imperial crown (1711), caused Europe to fear the reunion of Spain to the Empire. It was not worth while to have pulled down Louis XIV. in order to set up a Charles V. England was tired of spending: she saw Marlborough, who had been seduced by the Dutch, fighting in their interests. Finally, the unexpected victory of Villars at Denain damaged the reputation of Prince Eugène (1712). This terrible war, by means of which the Allies expected to dismember France, did not deprive her of a single province. (Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, 1712; Barrier Treaty, 1715).

She gave up only a few colonies. She maintained the grandson of Louis XIV. on the throne of Spain. The Spanish monarchy lost, it is true, its possessions in Italy and the Low Countries; it yielded Sicily to the Duke of Savoy, and the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, and the Milanese to Austria; but it gained by compression, by getting rid of the distant possessions which it could neither govern nor defend; the two Sicilies soon, however, were restored to a branch of the Spanish Bourbons.

Holland received several strongholds in the Netherlands, with the obligation to defend them in concert with Austria. The new dynasty was recognized in England, which took possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, thus securing a footing in Spain and the Mediterranean. She obtained for herself and Holland a commercial treaty which was disadvantageous to France. She exacted the demolition of Dunkerque, and prevented France from supplying its loss by the canal of Mardyck. She sent, and this was the most humiliating part, an English commissioner to watch lest France should restore the ruins of Jean Bart's town. "They are setting to work to demolish Dunkerk," says a contemporary; "they ask 800,000 francs to pull down only the third part." To this day one cannot read without scorn and indignation the pathetic supplication addressed to the Queen of England by the inhabitants.

Such was the end of this famous reign. Louis XIV. survived only for a short time the Treaty of Utrecht (he died in 1715). In the course of a few years he had witnessed the deaths of almost all his children, of the Dauphin, of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and of one of their sons. In the deserted palace there remained only one old man, nearly eighty, and a child of five years of age. All the great men of the age had gone before him, a new generation had sprung up. The ancient landmarks of society and literature were about to be moved. This period of softness and laxity had been anticipated by the mild quietism of Madame Guyon, who reduced religion to love. The clever and eloquent Massillon set aside dogma and spoke only of morality in his sermons, and the bold political ideas of Fénelon already belonged to the 18th century.

CHAPTER XX.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART, IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

THE genius of Literature and Art was still shining in the South during the first half of the 18th century. The genius of Philosophy and Science illuminated the North, especially during the second half. France, placed between the two, concentrated the rays of both, extended her language over every polished nation, and assumed in future the lead in European civilization.

§ I. FRANCE.

In France, as in Italy, the great literary age was preceded by a period of considerable agitation. Under Louis XIV. genius was animated and encouraged by a monarch who was the object of national enthusiasm. The *religious spirit* was at this time the chief inspirer of letters. Catholicism, in the interval between the attacks of the 16th and 18th centuries, animated its defenders with new energy. Another impulse was likewise given to letters by the *social spirit* natural to the French, but which requires well-being and security for its development; this tendency is the source of the superiority of French literature in dramatic poetry, and in all representations of manners. A capital and a court form the best school of criticism for literary art; perhaps it may not be favourable to originality, but it cultivates the perfection of taste and style.

The 17th century presents two distinct periods. In France the first period ends in the year 1661, when Louis XIV. began to reign for himself, and to exercise some influence over letters. The writers who flourished or were maturing in this period, retained some of the energy of the 16th century; their speculations were more daring and often more profound. Taste was still the privilege of a few men of genius. To this period belonged the painters Poussin and Le Sueur, and a great many writers: Malherbe, Racan, Brébœuf, Rotrou, and the great Corneille. Balzac and Voiture, Sarrazin and Mézérai, Descartes and Pascal, Cardinal de Retz and Molière, extend from the first to the second period.

Tragedy first attained majesty, strength and sublimity · she afterwards added grace and pathos.—Comedy of life and manners (genteel comedy) unrivalled by other nations now arose. There were three phases of French comedy: profound philosophy and natural gaiety, gaiety without philosophy, and interest without gaiety.—The opera rose to the rank of literature. Didactic poetry was remarkable for its wisdom and elegance. Satire was directed more against foibles than vices, and especially against literary absurdities. Apologues became little dramatic poems. Lyrical poetry flourished later, and exhibited more art than passion. Pastoral poetry was feeble and too ingenious. Light, occasional verses had more grace than force in them.

Dramatic Poets.

	Died in		Died in
Rotrou	1630	Th. Corneille	1709
Molière	1673	Regnard	1709
Pierre Corneille	1684	Brueys	1723
Quinault	1688	Campistron	1723
Racine	1699	Dancourt	1726
Boursault	1708	Crébillon	1762

Poets of other kinds.

	Died in		Died in
Malherbe	1628	Racan	1670
Brébœuf	1661	Benserade	1691

	Died in		Died in
Madame Deshoulières	1694	La Fare	1713
La Fontaine	1695	Chaulieu	1720
Ségrais	1701	J. B. Rousseau	1741
Boileau	1711		

The eloquence of the bar was checked in its development (Le Maistre, 1658; Patrie, 1681; Pélisson, 1693). The eloquence of the pulpit surpassed the models of antiquity. Funeral orations reappeared in a form unknown to the ancients.

Orators.

	Died in		Died in
Cheminais	1689	Fléchier	1710
Mascaron	1703	Fénelon	1715
Bourdaloue	1704	Massillon	1743
Bossuet	1704		

History was written with stiff elegance and little regard to truth, or else it was valuable only for its research. The "Discourse on Universal History" seems to have opened a new path.—Abundant materials were stored up in memoirs and in mercantile correspondence. Many other walks of literature were pursued with success. Novels rivalled comedy. In the carelessness of intimate correspondence women attained the perfection of familiar style. Translation made some progress. Finally, literary criticism sprang into existence.

Historians.

	Died in		Died in
Sarrazin	1654	Amelot de la Houssaie	1706
Péréfixe	1670	Boulainvilliers	1722
Cardinal de Retz	1679	Fleuri	1723
Mézérai	1683	Rapin de Thoiras	1725
Père Maimbourg	1686	Daniel	1728
Madame de Motteville	1689	Vertot	1735
Saint Réal	1692	Dubos	1742
Varillas	1696	St. Simon	1755
P. d'Orléans	1698		

Historic Scholars.

	Died in		Died in
Th. Godefroi	1646	Herbelot	1695
Soimond	1651	Tillemont	1698
Pétau	1652	Cousin	1707
Labbe	1667	Mabillon	1707
Valois	1676	Ruinard	1709
Moréri	1680	Baluze	1718
Godefroi	1681	Basnage	1723
Ducange	1688	Le Clerc	1736
Pagi	1695	Montfaucon	1741

Writers of different kinds.

	Died in		Died in
Voiture	1648	Scarron	1660
Vaugelas	1649	D'Ablancourt	1664
Balzac	1654	Arnault d'Andilly	1674
Du Ryer	1656	Le Bossu	1680
De Saci	1684	Tourreil	1715
Chapelle	1686	Madame de Maintenon	1716
Ant. Arnaud	1694	Hamilton	1720
Lancelot	1695	Dufresni	1724
Madame de Sévigné	1696	La Motte Houdard	1731
Madame de la Fayette	1699	Dubos	1742
Bachaumont	1702	Mongault	1747
Bouhours	1702	Le Sage	1747
Perrault	1703	Madame de Lambert	1753
St. Évremond	1703	Fontenelle	1757
Fénelon	1715		

Intellect received a new impulse from the study of metaphysics. The moralists accumulated facts without trying to establish a system of moral science. The philosophical spirit began to enter the domain of natural science. A few sceptics, rare in this age, united the 16th with the 18th century.

Philosophers.

	Died in		Died in
Descartes	1650	Bayle	1706
Gassendi	1655	Malebranche	1715
Pascal	1662	Huet	1721
La Motte le Vayer	1672	Buffier	1737
La Rochefoucauld	1680	Abbé St. Pierre	1743
Nicole	1695	Fontenelle	1757
La Bruyère	1696		

Science was not neglected. Mathematics were developed, and geography first systematized. Travels were for the first time undertaken for scientific purposes.

Scholars and Mathematicians.

	Died in		Died in
Descartes	1650	L'Hôpital	1704
Fermat	1652	Jacques Bernouilli	1705
Pascal	1662	Nicolas Bernouilli	1726
Pecquet	1674	Jean Bernouilli	1748
Rohault	1675		

Geographers and Travellers.

	Died in		Died in
Samson	1667	Tournefort	1708
Bochard	1669	Chardin	1713
Bernier	1688	De l'Isle	1726
Vaillant	1706		

Classical literature was cultivated as much as in the 16th century, but it was less conspicuous.

Students of Classical Literature.

	Died in		Died in
Saumaise	1653	Jouvenci	1716
Lefèvre	1672	Madame Dacier	1722
Rapin	1687	Dacier	1722
Furetière	1688	De la Rue	1725
Ménage	1691	De la Monnaie	1728
Santenil	1697	Cardinal Polignac	1741
Commire	1702	Brumoi	1742
Danet	1709		

Although the fine arts were not the most striking features of the age of Louis XIV. they contributed to the splendour of this brilliant period. Architecture flourished exceedingly. Painting, at first pursued with genius, fell into a decline which became still more rapid in the following century.

Painters.

	Died in		Died in
Le Sueur	1655	Mignard	1695
Poussin	1665	Jouvenet	1717
Le Brun	1690	Rigaud	1744

Sculptors.

	Died in		Died in
Puget	1695	Coysevox	1720
Girardon	1715	Coustou	1733

Architects.

	Died in		Died in
Fr. Mansard	1666	Claude Perrault	1703
Le Nôtre	1700	H. Mansard	1708

Engravers.

	Died in		Died in
Callot	1635	Audran	1703
Nanteuil	1678		

Musical Composer.

Lulli, Died in 1687.

§ II. England, Holland, Germany,—Italy, Spain.

England, Italy, and Spain followed closely upon France in the career of letters; the two former, with Holland, preceded her in science. In spite of the rise of a few men of ability, Germany had not yet begun to develop. In the first half of the 17th century Italy still bore the palm in painting, with Flanders for her rival.

(1) *Literature.*—The names of Bacon and Shakespeare mark the first development of English genius, but for a long time the religious wars put a stop to intellectual progress, although that great masterpiece the "Paradise Lost" must be referred to their date (in spite of its appearing as late as 1669). Under Charles II. England was under the literary as she was under the political influence of France; and this imitative tendency manifests itself in all the classical period of English literature (from the accession of Charles II. to the death of Queen Anne, 1661—1714). In this period England produced three celebrated poets (Dryden, Addison, and Pope), a great many wits and several distinguished prose writers.

English Poets.

	Died in		Died in
Shakespeare	1616	Rochester	1680
Denham	1666	Butler	1680
Cowley	1667	Roscommon	1684
Milton	1674	Otway	1685
Waller	1687	Prior	1729
Dryden	1701	Congreve	1729
Rowe	1718	Gay	1732
Addison	1719	Pope	1744

English Prose Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Clarendon	1694	Addison	1719
Tillotson	1694	Steele	1729
Temple	1698	Swift	1745
Burnet	1715	Bolingbroke	1751

The golden age of Italian literature was over. An original and profound thinker (Vico, who died in 1744) founded in Naples the philosophy of History; some good historians appeared, but poetry was disfigured by affectation.

Italian Poets.

	Died in		Died in
Marini	1625	Salvator Rosa	1673
Tassoni	1635		

Italian Historians.

	Died in		Died in
Sarpi	1625	Bentivoglio	1644
Davila	1634	Nami	1678

Spanish literature was prodigiously fertile in philosophers and humourists: after the names of Cervantes and of two great tragic poets came those of several historians.

Spanish Authors.

	Died in		Died in
Cervantes	1616	Lope de Vega	1635
Mariana	1624	Solis	1686
Herrera	1625	Calderone	1687

(2) *Philosophy.*— England, prepared by theological and political controversies, opened new paths to metaphysics and political science. Germany opposed a single man (Leibnitz) to all the English scholars and metaphysicians. A Dutchman (Spinoza) systematized atheism, another Dutchman (Grotius) gave a scientific form to morality, and proved that society as well as individuals should be regulated by it. The new science, at first founded upon the classical system, was afterwards included in philosophy.

English Philosophical and Political Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Bacon	1626	Locke	1704
Hobbes	1679	Shaftesbury	1715
Sidney	1683	Clarke	1729
Cudworth	1688		

Dutch Philosophical and Political Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Grotius	1645	St. Gravesande	1742
Spinoza	1677		

German Philosophical and Political Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Puffendorf	1695	Wolf	1784
Leibnitz	1716		

(3) *Science.*—Bacon discovered its laws, and as it were prophesied the great results which might be expected, but Galileo and Newton were the first to direct its use. Many scholars and students followed in the wake of these extraordinary men.

English Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Bacon	1626	The Gregorys,	1646, 1675, 1708
Harvey	1657	Newton	1726
Barrow	1677	Halley	1741
Boyle	1691		

Italian Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Aldovrandus	1615	Borelli	1679
Sanctorius, towards	1636	Viviani	1703
Galileo	1642	Cassini	1712
Torricelli	1647		

Dutch Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Huyghens	1702	Boerhaave	1738

German and Danish Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Kepler	1630	Kircher	1683
Tycho Brahé	1636	Stahl	1733

(4) *Antiquarian Research.*—It was exercised in every possible direction. The antiquities of the middle ages and of the East shared the labours of the learned, who, until then, had been exclusively engaged with classical antiquities.

English Antiquarians.

Owen, Farnaby, Aster, Bentley, Marsham, Stanley, Hyde, Pocock.

Dutch and Flemish Students of Antiquity.

Barlæus, Schrevelius, Heinsius, Vossius.

German Students of Antiquity.

Frenshemius, Gronovius, Morhof, Fabricius, Spanheim.

Italian Antiquarians.

Muratori, &c.

(5) *The Fine Arts.*—In Italy the decline of Art followed that of Letters. Painting alone was an exception. It flourished in the Lombard and Flemish schools.

Italian Painters.

	Died in		Died in
Guido	1642	Guercino	1666
Albano	1647	Salvator Rosa	1675
Lanfranco	1647	Bernini (sculptor, architect and painter)	1680
Domenichino	1648		

Flemish and Dutch Painters.

	Died in		Died in
Rubens	1640	Rembrandt	1688
Vandyke	1641	The younger Teniers	1694
The elder Teniers	1649		

SECOND DIVISION OF THE THIRD PERIOD.[1]

1715—1789.

CHAPTER XXI.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONARCHY, 1715—1789.

BETWEEN the reigns of Louis the Great and Napoleon the Great, France slid down a rapid incline, at the foot of which the ancient monarchy, striking on the people, was dashed to pieces and gave place to the principles on which the existing political system of Europe is based.

[1] CONDITION OF THE PRINCIPAL POWERS AFTER THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

England. 1714—1727.—Accession of the House of Hanover in the person of George I. This prince was entirely devoted to the Whigs. England, which had become more and more powerful since the Treaty of Utrecht, continued to exercise the same influence over Holland, which imperceptibly declined. *France,* 1715—1723. Minority of Louis XV. Regency of the Duke of Orleans. This prince, alarmed by the King of Spain and the legitimatized princes, makes a firm alliance with England, afraid on her side of the attempts of the Pretender. *Spain,* 1700—1746. Philip V. He was influenced first by the Princess des Ursins, then by his second wife, Elizabeth of Parma. 1715—1719, Administration of Alberoni. *Austria,* 1711—1740. Charles VI. The power of the House of Austria was considerably extended, but not strengthened by the Treaty of Utrecht. Religious troubles of the Empire. Civil war in Hungary. Turkish war. All the powers, except Spain, are interested in the observance of the Peace of Utrecht, and for twenty years endeavour to prolong it

The central idea of the 18th century consists in the preparation for this great change. First came the literary and philosophical struggle for religious liberty; next the

by negotiations. Ambitious plans of Alberoni for recovering the dismembered countries of the Spanish monarchy—to deprive the Duke of Orleans of the Regency, and to re-establish the Pretender on the throne of England. His negotiations with Charles XII. and Peter the Great. 1717, Triple Alliance (the Regent of France with the King of England and with Holland). 1717—1718, Sardinia and Sicily reconquered by the Spaniards. Conspiracy of Cellamare against the Regent. 1718, *Quadruple Alliance* (France, England, and Holland with the Emperor). Spain forced to join it. 1720, the Emperor gives up Spain and the Indies; the King of Spain, Italy and the Low Countries; the Infant Don Carlos receives the investiture of the Duchies of Tuscany, of Parma and Piacenza, which, considered as fiefs of the Empire, are to be occupied provisionally by neutral troops. Austria takes Sicily, and gives Sardinia in exchange to the Duke of Savoy. 1721—1725, Congress of Cambray. Difficulties raised by the Emperor and the King of Spain as to the form of the renunciations; by the Emperor with regard to the acceptance of his *Pragmatic Sanction;* by Holland and England as to the Ostend Company; by the Dukes of Parma and Tuscany concerning the investitures granted to the Infant Don Carlos. 1725, Rupture of the Congress of Cambray. The Duke of Bourbon, prime minister of France, decides the event by sending away the Infant, and arranging the marriage of Louis XV. with the daughter of the exiled King of Poland, Stanislaus Leczinski. Peace of Vienna between Austria and Spain; defensive alliance, joined by Russia and the chief Catholic states of the Empire. Alliance of Hanover, between France, England, and Prussia, joined by Holland, Sweden, and Denmark. Several reasons prevent the general war which was on the point of breaking out: 1st, the death of Catherine I., Empress of Russia; the pacific characters of the prime ministers of France and England, Cardinal Fleury (1726—1743), and Sir Robert Walpole (1721—1742). Intervention of the Pope; preliminaries of Paris. 1728, Congress of Soissons; 1729, Peace of Seville, between France, England, and Spain; 1731, *Treaty of Vienna;* England and Holland guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI.; he gives up carrying on the trade of India through Holland, and consents to the occupation of Parma and Placentia by the Spaniards. 1735, Death of Augustus II., King of Poland. Two pretenders to the throne—Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, son of the deceased King, supported by Russia and Austria; Stanislaus Leczinski, father-in-law of Louis XV., supported by France, allied with Spain and Sardinia. England and Holland remain neutral, notwithstanding their alliance with Austria. Stanislaus is driven

great and bloody battle for political liberty, a victory which proved ruinous to Europe; and lastly, in spite of a passing reaction, the definitive confirmation of civil equality.

out by the Russians and Saxons; but France and Spain attack Austria with success. Occupation of Lorraine; capture of Kehl. 1734, the Empire declares war against France. Capture of Philipsburg. Conquest of the Milanese by the Sardinian and French armies. Victories of Parma and of Guastalla. 1734—1735, Conquest of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily by the Spaniards. Victory of Bitonto. The Infant Don Carlos crowned King of the Two Sicilies. The arrival of ten thousand Russians on the Rhine, the intervention of the maritime powers, and the desire to confirm the establishment of the Bourbons of Spain in Italy, in spite of the jealousy of England, determine Cardinal Fleury on treating with Austria. 1738, *Treaty of Vienna.* Stanislaus receives as compensation for the throne of Poland, Lorraine, which, at his death, is to fall to France; Francis, Duke of Lorraine, nephew of the Emperor, receives in exchange the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, as fief of the Empire (the last of the Medicis having died without issue); the Two Sicilies and the port of Tuscany secured to the Infant Don Carlos; the Emperor recovers the Milanese, Mantua, Parma, and Placentia. Novara and Tortona remain in the possession of the King of Sardinia.

War of the Austrian Succession, 1741—1748, and Seven Years' War, 1756—1763.

The middle of the 18th century is marked by two European leagues tending to the annihilation of the two great German powers. One of these powers, formerly supreme in its influence, excites, by its feebleness and isolation, the ambition of every other state; the other, by its sudden elevation, inflames their jealousy. Each of them engages all Europe in the struggle that it maintains against its rival; each of them defends itself with success, which was fortunate even for the aggressors whose imprudence threatened to disturb the balance of power on the Continent. The two wars are in reality only one, separated by a truce of six years. Although they had the same duration, the name of Seven Years' War is applied exclusively to the second.

War of the Austrian Succession, 1741—1748.

Contradictory pretensions of the princes allied against Austria. The King of Prussia alone knows what he wants, and obtains it. At first (1741—1744) the object was to annihilate Austria, then to

Whilst the body of Louis XIV. was being carried all alone and without ceremony to St. Denis, the Duke of Orleans forced the Parliament to set aside his will.

deliver Bavaria. Until 1744 Germany was the theatre of the war; Prussia and France were the principal enemies of Austria. During the rest of the war, France, which had become the sole enemy of importance, carried the war chiefly into Italy and the Low Countries. England supported Austria by negotiations and troops. She began on this occasion the system of subsidies, by means of which she bought the direction of continental affairs. Austria maintains her existence, and only loses three provinces; but she is greatly humbled by the loss of Silesia, and cannot reconcile herself to the elevation of the King of Prussia, nor become, with England, the arbiter of Europe. 1740, Death of the Emperor Charles XI., the last male heir of the House of Habsburg—Austria. His Pragmatic Sanction, guaranteed by all the states of Europe, secures his succession to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, wife of Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Tuscany, to the exclusion of the daughters of Joseph I. The husbands of these princesses, Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria (descendant of the Emperor Ferdinand I.), and Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, put forward their pretensions to the throne of Austria. Philip V., King of Spain, claims Bohemia and Hungary; Frederick II., King of Prussia, a portion of Silesia; Charles Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, the Milanese. France, persuaded by the brothers Belle Isle, in spite of Cardinal Fleury, supports the pretensions of these different powers.—Friendless position of Maria Theresa; England still under the Walpole Ministry, and engaged in a war with Spain; Sweden, through the intrigues of France, engaged in an unfortunate war with Russia. 1740—1744, the King of Prussia invades Silesia, and gains the battle of Molwitz. 1741, the Elector of Bavaria and the French army seize Upper Austria, and invade Bohemia. 1742, the Elector of Bavaria elected Emperor under the title of Charles VII. Heroism of Maria Theresa; devotion of the Hungarians to her cause. She receives subsidies from Holland and England. 1742, Fall of the pacific minister Walpole. Sardinia declares in favour of Maria Theresa. An English squadron forces the King of Naples to preserve his neutrality. The mediation of England, and the defeat of Czaslau, decide Maria Theresa on yielding Silesia to the King of Prussia, who separates himself from the league. Treaty of Berlin. The Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, follows the example of the King of Prussia. 1743, the Pragmatic army of George II. successful at Dettingen. Treaty of Worms (between Maria Theresa and the King of Sardinia). The French evacuate Bohemia, Austria, and Bavaria, and are driven to the other side of the Rhine. 1744, France declares war against the Queen of Hungary and the King of

The politics of the Regent, his whole life and character, were in opposition to the preceding reign. All the ancient barriers gave way; the Regent invited private

England. Alliance of Frankfort concluded between France, Prussia, the Elector Palatine, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Emperor, to effect the recognition of the latter, and to establish him in his hereditary states. Frederick invades Bohemia. The French re-enter Germany; the Imperialists retake Bavaria. 1745, Death of Charles VII.; Maximilian Joseph, his son, treats with the Queen of Hungary at Fuessen. Election of Francis I., husband of Maria Theresa, to the Imperial throne. Frederick secures the possession of Silesia by the victories of Hohenfriedburg, of Sorr, and of Kesseldorf, and, by the invasion of Saxony, forces the Elector and the Queen to sign the treaty of Dresden. The French carry on the war with success; in Italy, 1744, seconded by the Genoese, the King of Naples, and the Spaniards, they establish the Infant Don Philip in the Duchies of Milan and Parma; in the Low Countries, under Marshal Saxe, they gain the battles of Fontenoy and Roucoux (1746). 1745—1746, Expedition of Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, who forces England to recall the Duke of Cumberland from the Low Countries (battles of Preston Pans and Culloden). 1746, the French and Spaniards beaten at Piacenza; the Spanish army recalled by the new king, Ferdinand VI. The Austrians drive the French from Lombardy, take possession of Genoa, and invade Provence. The revolution of Genoa obliges them to re-cross the Alps. 1747, Conquest of Dutch Flanders by the French. The Stadtholdership re-established and declared hereditary in favour of William IV., Prince of Nassau Dietz. Victory of the French at Laufeld, and capture of Berg-op-Zoom. 1748, the siege of Maestricht decides Holland and England to make negotiations. France is induced so to do by the arrival of the Russians on the Rhine, the destruction of her navy and the loss of colonies (see below). Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. France, England, and Holland give back their conquests in Europe and the two Indies; Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla are yielded to Don Philip, brother of the kings of Naples and Spain, and nephew of the King of France. The Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., the succession of the House of Hanover in England and in Germany, the possession of Silesia by the King of Prussia, are confirmed and guaranteed.

Seven Years' War, 1756—1763.

The jealousy of Austria arms Europe against a sovereign who does not threaten the common independence. England struggles at the same time against France and Spain. Frederick and William Pitt, with like interests, conduct separately the continental and the naval war. Superiority of Frederick; his military genius; discipline of the

individuals to give their opinions on politics, he proclaimed the maxims of Fénelon, he printed Telemachus at his own expense, and opened the Royal Library to the public.

troops, skill of his officers, Prince Henry, Ferdinand of Brunswick, Schwerin, Seidlitz, Schmettau, and Keith. Austria opposes him, her generals are Brown, Daun, Landon; her negotiator, Kaunitz France, attacking England in Hanover, forces that kingdom and the neighbouring states to become the rampart of Frederick, and neglects naval warfare. The family compact too late to be of use to France. Frederick comes out conqueror from his struggle against Europe. Prussia survives and keeps Silesia. England gains its object, namely, the destruction of the maritime power of France. Frederick, though weakened, still shares the first place with England, but he no longer wishes for war, and the union of France and Austria promises a long peace to the Continent. Misunderstanding between France and England, 1754. First hostilities against America, 1756. Alliance of England with Prussia, of France with Austria. Projected division of the states of the King of Prussia, 1756. The King of Prussia anticipates his enemies by attacking Saxony; he occupies Dresden; beats the Austrians at Lowositz, and makes the Saxons lay down their arms at Pirna. France seizes Minorca, and sends troops into Corsica; but soon she neglects naval warfare to attack England in Hanover. 1757, success of the French. Victory of Hastenbech. Convention of Closter-Seven. Sweden, Russia, and the Empire join the league against the King of Prussia. Frederick enters Bohemia, and wins the battle of Prague; he is repulsed and defeated at Kolin. One of his officers is beaten by the Russians at Joegernsdorf. Danger of his situation. He evacuates Bohemia, passes into Saxony, and beats the French and the Imperialists at Rosbach. Frederick returns to Silesia, and repairs the defeat of Breslau by the victory of Lissa. He invades successively Moravia and Bohemia, and prevents the junction of the Austrians with the Russians, 1758; he gains over the latter the hardly-contested victory of Zornsdorf. He is surprised at Hochkirchen by the Austrians. 1759, the Prussians beaten by the Russians at Palzig; by the Russians and Austrians at Kunersdorf; by the Austrians at Maxen. The conquerors do not profit by their success. The Prussians, beaten again at Landshut, are conquerors at Liegnitz and Torgau, 1760. They recapture Silesia, and again invade Saxony. 1758—1762, unfortunate campaigns of the French. 1758, Ferdinand of Brunswick, having driven them from Hanover, crosses the Rhine, and gains the battle of Crevelt. The French occupy Hesse, and Ferdinand recrosses the Rhine. 1759, Victory of Broglie at Bergen. Defeat of the French at Minden. 1760, Victory of the French at Corbach and Closter-camp; devotion of the Chevalier d'Assas. 1761, the French conquer at Grunberg; conquered at Fillingshausen. 1759, Death

The farmers of the Revenue, who had grown fat upon the troubles of France, were judged by a Star Chamber, fined, and condemned haphazard. This rigorous treat-

of the King of Spain, Ferdinand VI.; he is succeeded by his brother, the King of Naples, Charles III., who leaves the throne of Naples to his third son, Ferdinand IV. 1761, family compact, negotiated by the Duke of Choiseul, between the different branches of the House of Bourbon (France, Spain, Naples, Parma). Spain declares war against England and Portugal. 1760, Death of the King of England, George II. George III. 1762, Resignation of Pitt. 1762, Death of Elizabeth, Empress of Russia. Peter III. Catherine II. recalls the Russian troops from Silesia, and declares herself neutral. 1762, Peace of Hamburg between Prussia and Sweden. Peace of Paris between France, England, Spain, and Portugal. The King of Prussia, by the victory of Freyburg and the capture of Schweidnitz, induces the Empress and the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, to sign the *Peace of Hubertsberg*. The first and the last treaty place Germany in the same condition as she was before the war.

European Colonies during the 18th century.

Growing importance of the colonies, above all of the English and French, in consequence of the calm that they enjoyed at the beginning of the 18th century. Immense increase of the duty on foreign produce. Decline of the system of monopolies, especially in England, after the accession of the House of Hanover. The colonies become for Europe a continual source of war until the principal ones separate themselves from the mother-country. The maritime supremacy is secured to England by the humiliation of France (Treaty of Utrecht), and above all by the influence which she has acquired over Holland. The struggle, however, soon recommences between France and England. The theatre of this struggle is the North of America, the Antilles, and the East Indies, where the fall of the Mogul Empire opens a wide field to Europeans. France succumbs at first in Northern America. But the English Colonies, no longer fearing the vicinity of the French or Spaniards, free themselves from the yoke of England. The latter finds compensation in the Indian establishments of the Dutch, to which it succeeds, and in the conquest of the continent of India. Division; (1) 1713—1739, history of the colonies, from the Peace of Utrecht to the first war. (2) 1739—1765, wars of the mother-countries on behalf of the colonies. (3) 1765—1783, first war of the colonies against their mother-countries. (4) 1739—1789, end of the history of the colonies in the 18th century.

(1) 1713—1739, history of the colonies from the Peace of Utrecht to the first war. Contraband trade of the French, and especially

ment of the financiers only added to the popularity of the Duke. It was not enough, however, to condemn them; it was necessary to replace them by some other

of the English, between each other and the Spanish colonies. New liberty of commerce granted to the colonies by England, 1739—1751: and by France, 1717. Introduction of the cultivation of coffee at Surinam, 1718; at Martinique, 1728; in the Isle of France and the Isle of Bourbon, about 1736; in the English colonies of Northern America, 1732. 1711, English South Sea Company. 1732, formation of the province of Georgia. New importance of the French Antilles. 1771, French Mississippi and African Company, to which is united an East Indian Company. 1712, the French acquire the Isle of France and the Isle of Bourbon. 1736, La Bourdonnais is nominated governor. 1728—1733, Disputes between the French and English relative to the neutral islands. Falling off of the eastern colonies of the Dutch, prosperity of Surinam. Rich products of the Portuguese colony of Brazil. 1719—1733, Extension of the Danish possessions in the Antilles. 1734, Foundation of a Danish Company in the West Indies. 1731, Trade of Sweden with China.

(2) 1739—1765, first wars of the mother-countries on account of the colonies. 1739, war between England and Spain, in consequence of the contraband commerce of the latter country with the Spanish colonies. The English take Porto Bello, and besiege Carthagena. This war becomes involved with that of the Austrian Succession. 1740, Expedition of Admiral Anson. 1745, Capture of Louisbourg. 1746—1748, success of the French in India. La Bourdonnais takes Madras from the English; Dupleix repulses them from Pondicherry. 1758, mutual restitution of conquests at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. New conquests of Dupleix. Differences which arise as to the limits of Nova Scotia and Canada, and relatively to the neutral islands. 1734, Assassination of Jumonville, and capture of the fort of Necessity. 1758, Battle of Quebec; deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm. Loss of Canada, the Antilles, and the possessions in the East Indies. 1762, By the Treaty of Paris, France recovers its colonies, except Canada and its dependencies, and Senegal, and some of the Antilles; she promises no longer to keep troops in Bengal; Spain gives up Florida to England, and France indemnifies Spain by the cession of Louisiana. 1757—1765, Conquests of Lord Clive in the East Indies. Acquisition of Bengal, and foundation of the English empire in India.

(3) 1765—1783, First war of the colonies against their mother-countries. Extent, population, and wealth of the English colonies in North America. Their democratic institutions. They feel the less the want of a mother-country since Canada no longer belongs to France nor Florida to Spain. Their subjection to the British monopoly. The English Government undertakes to introduce taxes

means, so as to liquidate the enormous debt left by Louis XIV. A great enterprise was then attempted; a Scotch banker named Law, who called himself a disciple of

into these colonies. 1765, Timber Act. 1766, Declaratory Bill. 1757—1770, Duty on tea. 1773, insurrection at Boston. Restraining Act. 1774, Congress of Philadelphia. 1775, commencement of hostilities. Washington, Commander-in-chief of the American forces. 1776, Declaration of Independence. Establishment of the Federal Government of the United States of America. Capitulation of Saratoga. Embassy of Franklin. 1778, France allies itself with the Americans; war between France and England. France gains over to its interests Spain and Holland. 1780, armed neutrality. England declares war against Holland. The French seize the English Antilles and Senegal; the English, several of the French and Dutch Antilles and the Dutch possessions in Guiana. 1779—1782, Spain takes Minorca and Western Florida, but in vain besieges Gibraltar. 1782, Victory of Rodney over the Count de Grasse, in the Antilles. 1779—1785, the English take the French and Dutch possessions on the continent of India. 1777—1781, indecisive engagements between the English and Americans, helped by the French. 1781, Capitulation of Cornwallis in Yorktown. (1782, Ministry of Fox in England.) 1783-4, Treaty of Versailles and Paris; the independence of the United States of America is recognized by England; France and Spain recover their colonies, and keep, the former Senegal and the islands of Tobago, Santa Lucia, St. Peter, and Miquelon; the latter, Minorca and the Floridas. Holland surrenders Negapatam, and guarantees to them free navigation in the Indian seas.

(4) 1739—1789, end of the history of the colonies in the 18th century. Progress of the English in the East Indies. 1767—1769, and 1774—1784, their wars against the Sultans of Mysore, Hyder Ali, and Tippoo Sahib, and against the Mahrattas. 1773 and 1784, new organization of the East India Company, tending to give more unity to the administration, and to render it more dependent on the English Government. 1768—1770, Voyages of Captain Cook. 1786, Colony of free negroes at Sierra Leone. 1788, Colony of Port Sidney, in New South Wales. Spanish colonies. Capture of Porto Bello by the English, 1740, and of Havanna, 1762. 1764, acquisition of French Guiana and Louisiana, yielded by France, and, in 1778, the islands of Annobon and Fernando Po, yielded by Portugal. New organization of Spanish America. 1776, four viceroyalties and eight independent governorships. 1748—1784, successive relaxation of the system of monopolies. 1785, Company of the Philippines. French colonies. 1763, Attempt to colonize Cayenne. Prosperity of St. Domingo. Establishment of a monopoly for the cultivation of spices in the Isle of France. 1780, Dutch colonies. Their decline

Newton and Locke, came to make the first experiment that France had seen on the resources of credit. He opened a bank and substituted paper-money for coin. This bank

since the commencement of the century in the East Indies, since the American war in the West Indies. Portuguese colonies. 1777, War between Spain and Portugal. Spain seizes St. Sacramento. Division of Brazil into nine governments. 1755—1759, the Marquis of Pombal takes trade away from the Jesuits, and places it in the hands of several privileged Companies. 1755, Emancipation of the natives of Brazil. Danish colonies. 1764, the commerce of the West Indies becomes free by the dissolution of the Company. 1777, the East India Company gives up its possessions to the Government. Swedish colonies. 1784, acquisition of St. Bartholomew. 1762, freedom of the Russian commerce with China. 1786, Russian Company for the fur trade in North America.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE WESTERN STATES, 1715—1789.

Italy. In the first half of the 18th century, as in the first half of the 16th, the French, the Spanish, and the Germans dispute the possession of Italy; but the wars of the 16th century had changed the principal Italian States into provinces of foreign monarchies; those of the 18th restore their national sovereigns. Beneficial administration of the princes of the House of Lorraine, in Tuscany. 1765—1790, Leopold. 1730, Abdication of Victor Amadeus II., King of Sardinia, in favour of Charles Emmanuel III. Captivity of the old King. The House of Savoy loses its splendour. Victor Amadeus III. 1775—1796, the Two Sicilies show some life under the princes of the House of Bourbon. Charles I., 1734—1759, and Ferdinand IV. 1759—1824.

Corsica. Rising of this island against the Genoese, at the commencement of the 18th century. 1733, the Genoese implore the help of the Emperor. 1734, Corsica declares itself an independent republic. 1736, King Theodore. 1737, the Genoese appeal to the French. 1755, Pascal Paoli. 1768, Genoa gives up Corsica to France.

Geneva. 1768, Intervention of France in the troubles of this republic. 1772, fresh troubles. Armed mediation of the three neighbouring powers. 1789, new constitution.

Switzerland; her neutrality. Home troubles. 1712—1719, War of the Protestant cantons, Berne and Zurich, against the Abbot of St. Gall, supported by the Catholic cantons, Uri, Zug, Schweitz, and Unterwalden.

Spain; her weakness, notwithstanding the establishment of the royal family in Italy. 1724, temporary abdication of Philip IV., in favour of Louis I. 1746—1759, Ferdinand VI. 1758—1786,

was converted by the Regent into a Royal Bank. Law associated with this bank the Mississippi or West Indian Company scheme. The Regent granted to the Company

Charles III. passes from the throne of Naples to that of Spain. Close alliances with France. Administration of Aranda, Campomane, &c.

Portugal. Languor of this kingdom under John V., 1706—1750. 1750—1777, Joseph I. Universal and violent reform of the Marquis of Pombal. Humiliation of the nobility. 1759, Expulsion of the Jesuits. The revolution brought about by Pombal leaves few traces. 1777—1788, Pedro and Maria.

England. Attachment of the nation to the House of Hanover. Enterprise of the Pretender. Increasing influence of the Crown in Parliament. Immense development of industry and trade at home and abroad. The loan system. Alarming increase of the National Debt. 1714—1727, George I. 1727—1760, George II. 1760, George III. 1721—1742, Walpole Ministry. 1756—1761, Ministry of William Pitt (Lord Chatham). Rivalry between Fox and the second Pitt, who commences his Ministry in 1783.

Empire. Sudden disturbance occasioned by the Austrian succession. The conquest of Silesia, by rendering Prussia and Austria irreconcilable, breaks for ever the unity of the Empire. Whilst the political tie is loosened, a moral tie is formed in Germany by the development of a language, a literature, and a philosophy in common. 1711—1740, Charles VI. 1742—1745, Charles VII. 1745—1763, Francis I. and Maria Theresa. 1765—1790, Joseph II. Mildness of the Government of Maria Theresa in her hereditary states. Innovations of Joseph II. 1787, rising of the Austrian portion of the Low Countries.

Prussia. She doubles in this century her extent and population. Strength and unity of the Government. Revenue. Organization altogether military. 1713—1740, Frederick William I. 1740—1786, Frederick II., called the Great. 1786, Frederick William II.

Bavaria. 1711, Extinction of the youngest branch of the House of Wittelsbach, by the death of the Elector, Maximilian Joseph. The succession returns by right to the Elector Palatine. Pretensions of the Emperor Joseph II. and of Maria Theresa; of the dowager Electress of Saxony and the Dukes of Mecklenburg. 1788, agreement of the Court of Vienna with the Elector Palatine. The King of Prussia supports the pretensions of the Duke of Zweibrücken, heir of the Elector Palatine, and invades Bohemia and Austrian Silesia. Intervention of France and Russia. 1779, the succession of Bavaria is secured to the Elector Palatine, who indemnifies the other pretenders.

Holland. She becomes enfeebled by her long dependence on England. Formation of the anti-English party. 1747—1754, re-

a lease of the public taxes, in return for which the Company lent him 1,200 millions of francs towards paying the debts of the State. The public creditors were paid

establishment of the Stadtholdership in favour of William IV., of the younger branch of Nassau-Orange. 1751—1795, William V. 1781—1785, differences between the Dutch and Joseph II. 1783—1788, revolt against the Stadtholder. Intervention of the Courts of Berlin and Versailles. A Prussian army supports the Stadtholder. Holland renounces the alliance of France for that of England and of Prussia.

General Affairs of the North and the East.

Revolution of Russia and Poland.

The impulse given to Russia by Peter the Great lasts until the accession of Catherine the Great, although diminished during the period when foreigners were excluded from the government (1741—1762). The accession of Catherine is a new era for Russia. Her development favoured by the condition of her neighbours. Sweden, however, is saved by an internal revolution; Turkey, by the jealousy of the European States. Russia, by putting herself at the head of an opposition against the all-powerful maritime supremacy of England, becomes incapable of executing her projects against Turkey. She is more fortunate as regards Poland. The vigour of the Polish character becomes impaired under Augustus II. and Augustus III.; Poland receives a sovereign from Russia, is abandoned by France, helped unsuccessfully by Turkey, and condemned to keep her anarchical constitution. Those who were interested in her existence, seeing her irrecoverably lost, divide her spoils with Russia. They gain some provinces; but they allow the Russians to advance to the frontiers of Germany. 1725—1727, Catherine I., widow of Peter the Great. Ministry of Menzikoff. 1727—1730, Peter II., grandson of Peter the Great, by his son Alexis Menzikoff, overthrown by Dolgorouki. 1730—1740, Anne Ivanovna, niece of Peter the Great, widow of the Duke of Courland. Influence of Biron, Munich, and other foreigners. Russia again extends her influence abroad. 1733, affairs of Poland. 1737, Biron, Duke of Courland. 1736, the Russians ally themselves with Thamas-Kouli-Khan against the Turks, in the hope of recapturing Azov and opening the Black Sea. 1737, the Emperor makes an alliance with the Russians. The latter, under Munich, take Azov, invade the Crimea, gain the battle of Choczim, and make themselves masters of Moldavia; but the Turks drive the Imperialists out of Wallachia and Servia, and besiege Belgrade. 1739, *Peace of Belgrade;* Austria retains only Temeswar

henceforth, not in cash, but in shares of the Mississippi Company, taken at their present fabulous market price. Enormous dividends were paid on these, and the anxiety to

of all the conquests which were secured to her at the Peace of Passarowitz. Russia also gives up her new possessions as well as the navigation of the Black Sea. 1740—1741, Ivan VI., great-nephew of Peter the Great, son of Anne of Mecklenburg, under the regency of Biron, then under that of his mother. 1741, Sweden declares war against Russia. 1741—1762, Elizabeth, second daughter of Peter the Great, overthrows the young Ivan. Expulsion of foreigners. 1741—1743, the Swedes beaten near Villemanstrand, and obliged to leave Finland. *Peace of Abo;* Russia retains a portion of Finland. 1775—1762, Russia joins the European coalition against the King of Prussia. 1762, Peter III., grandson of Peter the Great, by his mother, Anne Petrowna, and son of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. He makes an alliance with Prussia, and prepares in concert with her to attack Denmark. 1762—1796, Catherine II. dethrones Peter III. Situation of Poland under Augustus III. (1734—1763). 1764, Stanislaus Poniatowski raised to the throne of Poland, through the influence of Russia. 1768, the *dissidents* re-established in their rights. Confederation of Bar. Turkey makes a declaration of war against Russia. 1769—1770, the Russians invade Moldavia and Wallachia. Victories of Pruth and Kagul. The Russian fleet penetrates into the Mediterranean, stirs up the Morea, and burns the Turkish fleet in the Archipelago. 1771, Dolgorouki invades the Crimea. Intervention of Austria. 1774, the Turks blockaded by Romanzov. *Peace of Kaynardji.* The Tartars of the Crimea are declared independent; Russia returns her conquests, except Azov and some strong places on the Black Sea, and obtains free navigation in the Turkish seas. 1773, *first dismemberment of Poland.* Russia, Austria, and Prussia seize the frontier provinces. 1780, *Armed neutrality.* Russia, at the head of the powers of the North, causes her flag to be respected by England and France. 1775, reduction of the Cossacks. 1784, Russia re-unites the Crimea to her empire, with the consent of Turkey. 1787—1791, War between the Turks and Russians. The Emperor Joseph II. declares himself on the side of Russia; the King of Sweden, Gustavus III., on that of Turkey. The latter prince, attacked by the Danes, allies of Russia, concludes a peace with the Empress. 1790, Brilliant victories of the Russians over the Turks. 1791, *Peace of Szistowa* between the Austrians and Turkey. *Peace of l'Yassi* between the Russians and Turkey. 1788—1791, new constitution of Poland. 1793, *second dismemberment.* 1795, *final division of Poland* between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Courland submits to Russia (revolution in this duchy). 1737, extinction of the House of Kettler, and accession of Biron. 1759, Charles of Saxony, son of Augustus III., King of Poland. 1762,

obtain them amounted to infatuation. For the first time gold was at a discount, and the price of shares increased every hour. The Rue Quincampoix was thronged; men elbowed each other at the doors of the offices where they

re-establishment of Biron. His son Peter, after reigning twenty-five years, abdicates in favour of the Empress of Russia. 1796, Death of Catherine the Great. Her brilliant administration. Legislation. Schools. Foundation of Cherson, 1778, and Odessa, 1796. Manufactures. Caravan trade with Persia and China. Rise of commerce in the Black Sea. Construction of a great canal between the Baltic and the Caspian. Voyages of discovery, &c.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK, TURKEY.

Sweden. 1719—1720—1751, Ulrica Eléonora, sister of Charles XII. (to the exclusion of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, son of an elder sister of this prince), and Frederick I. of Hesse-Cassel. The government, nominally monarchical, becomes oligarchical. Feebleness of the Government. The two parties of war and of peace, of France and Russia, of *hats and caps.* 1743, as a condition of the Peace of Abo, Russia designates Adolphus Frederick, of Holstein-Gottorp, Bishop of Lübeck (uncle of the new Grand Duke of Russia), to the succession of Sweden, in preference to the Prince Royal of Denmark, whose election would have restored the old union of the three kingdoms of the North. 1751—1771, Adolphus Frederick II. The royal power is again enfeebled. 1771, Gustavus III. Character of this prince. 1772, restoration of the royal authority. The new constitution maintains all the rights of the States; but the Senate is only to be a Council presided over by the King. Vigour of the Government. Sweden withdrawn from the influence of Russia, resumes her old alliance with France and Turkey. 1792, Assassination of Gustavus III.

Denmark. Internal peace and well-being. The revolutions of the palace do not disturb the nation. Fatal rivalry of the reigning house with the branch of Holstein-Gottorp. 1730, Death of Frederick IV. 1730—1746, Christian VI. 1740, acquisition of Schleswig. 1746—1766, Frederick V. 1762, imminent war with Russia. 1767, arrangement relating to Schleswig and Holstein. 1766, Christian VII. Fall and execution of Struensee. 1714—1808, Regency of the Prince Royal, afterwards Frederick VI.

Turkey. She need no longer fear the Empire. She offers an unexpected resistance to Russia; nevertheless the loss of the Crimea and the establishment of Russia in the Black Sea, lays Turkey open to all the attacks of her enemy. 1703—1754, Achmet III. Mahmoud I. War with Persia. 1721—1727, the Turks regain in the East what they had lost in the West. 1730—1736, Thamas-Kouli-Khan strips them of their conquests; but they retake from

could exchange this inconvenient metal for paper. The Regent was one of the directors. The confidence of the public, however, was shaken: this paper religion had its unbelievers; it fell rapidly; woe betided the last holders! Strange metamorphoses were seen: the rich man became poor, and the poor rich; wealth, which hitherto had been connected with land and was permanent in families, for the first time seemed to take to itself wings; in future it was to follow the requirements of commerce and industry. A similar movement took place all over Europe; the inhabitants detached themselves, as it were, from the soil. Law, who disappeared amidst the maledictions of the nation, left behind him at least this benefit (1717—1721).

The Regent, in his easy reception of new ideas, his interest in science, and his dissolute manners, is one of the types of the 18th century. He maintained the Bull *unigenitus* for the sake of the Pontiff, but he was utterly without religion. His *roué* companions belonged to the nobility, but his devoted adherent, his Minister, the real King of France, was the rascally Cardinal Dubois, the son of an apothecary at Brives-la-Gaillarde. The natural ally of the Regent was England, which, under the House of Hanover, was likewise a representative of modern ideas, as was also the new monarchy of Prussia in Germany.

The common enemy was Spain, at whose expense the Treaty of Utrecht had been concluded. Spain and France, whose relationship made them all the more hostile, looked at each other with an unfriendly eye. The Spanish Minister, the intriguing Alberoni, undertook to re-establish the old system throughout Europe. He wanted to restore to Spain all that she had lost, to give the Regency of France to Philip V., and to establish the Pretender in England. To effect this Alberoni hired the first General of the time—the Swedish King, Charles XII.

the Emperor the provinces yielded to him by the Treaty of Passarowitz. 1743—1746, a second disastrous war with Thamas Kouli-Khan. 1754—1789, Othman III., Mustapha III., Abdul-Hamed. Disastrous wars against Russia.

This royal adventurer was to be paid by Spain as Gustavus Adolphus had been by France. This great project failed everywhere. Charles XII. was killed; the Pretender was beaten. The Spanish Ambassador was found conspiring with the Duchess of Maine, wife of a legitimatized son of Louis XIV. This clever little princess had expected to change the face of Europe. The memoirs of the Fronde, which had recently appeared, inspired her with emulation. The Regent and Dubois, incapable alike of friendship or enmity, thought the whole affair so absurd that they punished no one, except some unfortunate gentlemen from Brittany, who had put themselves forward (1718). France, England, Holland, and the Emperor combined against Alberoni, and formed the Quadruple Alliance. In 1720 Spain obtained in compensation Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and the Emperor, after investing Spain with these states, obliged the Duke of Savoy to exchange Sicily for Sardinia. Europe was determined upon peace, and was willing to make any sacrifice for it.

The severe and unskilful Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, who governed after the death of the Regent (1723—1726), was soon replaced by that of the cautious Fleury who had formerly been preceptor to the young King, and who quietly took possession of the King and the kingdom (1726—1745). Louis XV., who up to the age of seven was kept in leading strings, and until twelve wore stays, was destined to be ruled all his lifetime. Under the timid and economical government of the old priest, France was disturbed only by the Papal Bull, by the convulsions of Jansenism, and the agitations of the parliaments. France slumbered under Fleury, and had for her ally England, who was slumbering under Walpole—an unequal alliance from which France derived no kind of advantage. The French at that time were full of admiration for England; they went to study under the *freethinkers* of Great Britain, as in ancient times the Greek philosophers sat under the Egyptian priests. Voltaire went thither to listen to Locke and Newton, and to gather materials for

his tragedy of *Brutus* (1730). Montesquieu, who had become more careful since the scandal created by his brilliant "Lettres Persanes" (published in 1721), took from England the type which he held up for the imitation of all nations. No attention was paid to Germany, where Leibnitz had died; nor to Italy, where Vico was still living.

There were so many inflammable substances hidden beneath this apparent calm, that a spark from the north was enough to set all Europe in a blaze.

Under the Duke of Bourbon a court intrigue had married the King of France to the daughter of a landless prince, Stanislas Leczinski, the knight-errant whom Charles XII. had set up for a moment as King of Poland, and who retired into France. On the death of Augustus II. (1733), the party of Stanislas revived, in opposition to that of Augustus III., Elector of Saxony and son of the late King. Stanislas obtained 60,000 votes. Villars and the old generals were eager for war; they pretended that it was impossible to refuse support to the father-in-law of the King of France. Fleury allowed himself to be persuaded. His preparations were not sufficient for success, but they were enough to compromise France. He sent three millions (francs) and 500 men against 50,000 Russians. A Frenchman, Count de Plélo, ambassador to Denmark, who happened to be present when the troops arrived, blushed for his country, placed himself at their head, and was killed.

Spain had taken the side of Stanislas against Austria, which sustained Augustus. She made this distant war in Poland a pretext for recovering her Italian possessions, and succeeded to a certain extent, with the assistance of France. Whilst Villars was invading the Milanese, the Spaniards recovered the Two Sicilies, and established there the infant Don Carlos (1734—5). They retained this conquest at the Treaty of Vienna (1738). In exchange for the throne of Poland, Stanislas received Lorraine, which on his death was to fall to France; Francis, Duke of Lorraine and son-in-law of the Emperor, and husband of the famous Maria Theresa, received in

its stead Tuscany, as a fief of the empire. The last of the Medicis having died without issue, Fleury immediately negotiated for the purpose of securing the Two Sicilies to the Spanish Bourbons, in spite of the jealousy of England. Meanwhile 10,000 Russians had reached the Rhine. It occurred to the French for the first time that this European Asia might stretch out her long arms to France.

Although she had grown old with Fleury and Villars, France had, nevertheless, under her octogenarian minister and general, acquired Lorraine. Spain, revived by the Bourbons, had won two kingdoms from Austria. The latter, still subject to the descendants of Charles V., represented the ancient European system, fated to disappear and make way for the modern. The Emperor Charles VI., who was as uneasy as Charles II. of Spain in 1700, had made the greatest possible sacrifices to secure his possessions to his daughter Maria Theresa, wife of the Duke of Lorraine, now Duke of Tuscany.

In the face of old Austria the youthful kingdom of Prussia was rising up. It was partly German, partly Sclavonic, and partly French: no other country received so many exiles after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It was the destiny of Prussia to renew the old Saxon opposition against the Emperors. This state, poor and without natural frontiers, having neither the canals of Holland nor the mountains of Savoy to protect her against her enemies, nevertheless, grew in size and importance, the pure creation of war and of policy—of the human will triumphing over nature. The first king, William, a hard and barbarous soldier, who had spent thirty years in saving money and in disciplining his troops with the lash, considered a kingdom in the same light as a regiment. He was afraid that his son would not carry out his plans, and he was tempted to behead him, as the Czar Peter his son Alexis. This son, afterwards Frederick II., was no favourite with a father who valued nothing but size and strength, who carried off men of six feet, wherever he could find them, to compose

regiments of giants. Young Frederick was short, with heavy shoulders; he had large, cold, and piercing eyes: there was something eccentric about him. He was a wit, a musician, and a philosopher; he had depraved and ridiculous tastes, one of his favourite occupations was writing French verses; he knew no Latin, and despised German; he was a pure logician, incapable of appreciating either the beauty of ancient art, or the secrets of modern science. He had, however, one quality by which he earned the epithet of Great—a strong will. He willed to be a general; he willed that Prussia should become one of the leading States in Europe; he willed to be a legislator; he willed that his deserted plains should be peopled. He was one of the founders of the art of war, midway between Turenne and Napoleon. When the latter entered Berlin he asked to see only the tomb of Frederick; he took away his sword, saying, "this sword is mine by right."

Prussia, a new state, and owing her most industrious citizens to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was sooner or later to become the centre of modern philosophy. Frederick II. understood the part which he was to play, and declared himself the disciple of Voltaire in poetry as well as philosophy. This was a stroke of policy; his apparently frivolous tastes forwarded his most deeply laid schemes. The Emperor Julian had copied Marcus Aurelius, Frederick imitated Julian. First, in honour of the Antonines, whom Voltaire proposed to him as models, he wrote a sentimentally virtuous book against Machiavelli. He was not yet a king. Voltaire took it all in good faith, corrected the proofs, and enthusiastically praised the royal author. He promised a Titus to the world. On his accession Frederick tried to destroy the whole edition.

In the same year the Emperor Charles VI. died, and Frederick became a king (1740). All the states which had guaranteed the succession to Maria Theresa declared war upon her. The moment seemed to have arrived for dismembering the great body of Austria, and all ran to be

present at the division. The most superannuated rights were revived. Spain claimed Bohemia and Hungary; the King of Sardinia, the Milanese; Frederick, Silesia; France asked for nothing but the Empire for the Elector of Bavaria, who had been for more than half a century a devoted adherent of the French crown. The Elector was named Emperor without opposition, and at the same time generalissimo of the French forces.

The brothers Belle-Isle, grandsons of Fouquet, disturbed France with their chimerical projects. Fleury made war for the second time against his will, and for the second time failed. The French army, ill-paid and ill-fed, dispersed after gaining easy victories wherever it found means of subsistence. It left Vienna on one side and spread into Bohemia. On the other hand, Frederick conquered at Molwitz and seized Silesia (1741).

Maria Theresa stood alone; her cause seemed to be lost. She was advanced in pregnancy, and she feared that she would not have one town left in which she might give birth to her child. But England and Holland could not contemplate calmly the triumph of France. The peace-loving Walpole fell; subsidies were granted to Maria Theresa, and an English squadron imposed neutrality on the King of Naples. The King of Prussia, who had obtained all he wanted, made peace. The French wasted themselves in Bohemia, lost Prague, and made their way back with great difficulty through the snow. Belle-Isle consoled himself by comparing himself with Xenophon (1742).

The English landed on the continent and at Dettingen fell into the jaws of the French army, which let them escape and afterwards was beaten by them (1743). The French troops were driven back to the other side of the Rhine, and the unfortunate Bavarian emperor left to the vengeance of Austria. This was not what the King of Prussia had intended. Maria Theresa in her recovered strength would have been certain to retake Silesia. He sided with France and Bavaria, returned to the charge, entered Bohemia, secured Silesia in three victories, invaded Saxony, and obliged Maria Theresa and the

Saxons to sign the Treaty of Dresden. After the death of the Emperor, Maria Theresa had caused her husband to be chosen as his successor (Francis I., 1745).

The French, however, had the advantage in Italy. With the assistance of Spain, Naples, and Geneva, they established the Infant Don Philip in the duchies of Milan and Parma. In the Netherlands, under Marshal Saxe, they gained the battles of Fontenoy (1745) and of Roucoux (1746). The former celebrated engagement would have been hopelessly lost if an Irishman—Lally—inspired by hatred of the English, had not proposed to break their line with four guns. A skilful courtier, the Duke of Richelieu, appropriated the idea and the glory. The Irishman, sword in hand, was the first to break through the English column. In the same year France let loose upon England her most formidable enemy, the Pretender. The Scotch Highlanders received him, poured down the mountains with irresistible fury, carried off the guns, and cut the infantry in pieces with their broadswords. These successes ought to have been supported by France, but her navy had been reduced to nothing. Lally obtained a few ships; but the English held the sea and prevented the Scotch from receiving assistance. They had the advantage over the Scotch in numbers, resources, and in the possession of an excellent army. The Scotch were finally beaten at Culloden (1745-6).

The Spaniards retreated from Italy, and the French were driven out of that country. They advanced in the Netherlands. England was alarmed for Holland, and re-established the Stadtholderate. The French victories in Holland had at any rate the effect of procuring peace. She had lost her ships and her colonies; the Russians appeared for the second time on the Rhine. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored to France her colonies, secured Silesia to Prussia, and Parma and Placentia to the Spanish Bourbons. Against all expectation, Austria maintained her position (1748).

France had had a melancholy experience of her weak-

ness, but she was not able to profit by it. The Government of the old priest, Fleury, had been followed by that of the King's mistress. Mademoiselle Poisson, Marchioness of Pompadour, reigned twenty years. Although of mean birth, she had some patriotic ideas. Her creature, the Comptroller Machaut, wanted to tax the clergy; d'Argenson organized the war department with the talent and integrity of Louvois. In the midst of the petty warfare between the parliament and the clergy, philosophy was gaining ground. Even within the Court it had its partisans; although the King was opposed to the new ideas, he had his own little printing-press, and amused himself by printing the financial theories of his physician, Quesnay, who proposed a single tax, to be levied on the land. The nobility and clergy, who were its principal proprietors, would at length have been forced to contribute. All these projects ended in vain talk; the ancient corporations resisted, and the King, although courted by the philosophers, who wished to strengthen him against the clergy, became alarmed at their progress. Voltaire was writing a general anti-Christian History ("Essai sur les Mœurs," 1786). The new philosophy gradually emerged from the polemical character which Voltaire had given to it. In 1748, the President Montesquieu, founder of the Academy of Natural Science at Bordeaux, published, in a somewhat weak and desultory form, a materialistic theory of legislation derived from the influence of climate; such at least is the prevailing idea in the "Esprit des Lois," a book as ingenious and brilliant as it is sometimes profound. In 1749 the colossal "Histoire Naturelle" of Buffon appeared, and in 1751 the first volumes of the "Encyclopédie," a gigantic work, containing the essence of the 18th century, polemical, dogmatical, economical and mathematical, full of irreligion and philanthropy, atheism and pantheism, by d'Alembert and Diderot. The century is described by Condillac in a single phrase, the title of his book, "A Treatise on Sensation," 1754. The religious war was carried on by Voltaire, who had just occupied a central point of obser-

vation between France, Switzerland, and Germany, at the gates of Geneva, the stronghold of the ancient Vaudois, of Arnold of Brescia, of Zwingli, and of Calvin.

It was the culminating point of the power of Frederick II. Since his conquest of Silesia he had cast off all reserve. In his extraordinary Court at Potsdam this man of wit and war laughed at God, and at his brother philosophers and sovereigns; he ill-treated Voltaire, the chief organ of the new opinions; he wounded kings and queens with his epigrams; he believed neither in the beauty of Madame de Pompadour nor in the poetical genius of the Abbé Bernis, Prime Minister of France. The Empress thought the moment favourable for the recovery of Silesia; she stirred up Europe, especially the queens; she persuaded the Queen of Poland and the Empress of Russia; she paid court to the mistress of Louis XV. The monstrous alliance of France with the ancient state of Austria against a sovereign who maintained the equilibrium of Germany united all Europe against him. England alone supported him and gave him subsidies. She was governed at that time by a gouty lawyer, the famous William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, who raised himself by his eloquence and by his hatred of the French. England wanted two things; the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and the destruction of the French and Spanish colonies. Her griefs were serious: the Spaniards had ill-treated her smugglers and the French wanted to prevent her from settling on their territory in Canada. In India, La Bourdonnaie and his successor Dupleix threatened to found a great empire in the face of the English. As a declaration of war the English confiscated 300 French ships (1756).

The marvel of the war was to see this little kingdom of Prussia, interposed between the huge powers of Austria, France, and Russia, run from one to the other and defy them all. This was the second period of the art of war. The unskilful adversaries of Frederick thought that he owed all his success to the precision of the manœuvres of the Prussian soldiers, to their excellent drill and rapid

firing. Frederick had certainly carried the soldier-machine to perfection. This was capable of imitation: the Czar Peter III. and the Count of St. Germain created military automatons by means of the lash. But they could not imitate the quickness of his manœuvres; the happy arrangement of his marches, which gave him great facility for moving and concentrating large masses, and directing them on the weak points of the enemy.

In this terrible chase given by the large unwieldy armies of the allies to the agile Prussian, one cannot help noticing the amusing circumspection of the Austrian tacticians and the stupid folly of the fine gentlemen who led the armies of France. The Fabius of Austria, the sage and heavy Daun, was satisfied with a war of positions; he could not find encampments strong enough or mountains sufficiently inaccessible: his stationary troops were always beaten by Frederick.

To begin with, he freed himself from the enmity of Saxony. He did not hurt, he only disarmed her. He struck his next blow in Bohemia. Repulsed by the Austrians, and abandoned by the English army, which determined at Kloster-seven to fight no more, threatened by the Russians, who were victorious at Joegerndorf, he passed into Saxony and found the French and Imperialists combined there. Prussia was surrounded by four armies. Frederick fancied himself lost and determined on suicide. He wrote to his sister and to d'Argens announcing his intention. There was only one thing which frightened him: it was, that when once he was dead the great distributor of glory—Voltaire—might make free with his name: he wrote an epistle to disarm him: so Julian, mortally wounded, drew from his robe a speech which he had composed for the occasion. "Pour moi," said Frederick,

> "Pour moi, menacé du naufrage
> Je dois, en affrontant l'orage,
> Penser, vivre et mourir en roi."[1]

[1] As for me, threatened by shipwreck, it is my duty, while I face the storm, to think, live, and die as becomes a King.—*Tr.*

Having written this epistle, he defeated the enemy at Rosbach. The Prince of Soubise, who thought that he fled, set off rashly in pursuit; then the Prussians unmasked their batteries, killed 3,000 men, and took 7,000 prisoners. In the French camp were found an army of cooks, actors, hairdressers; a number of parrots, parasols, and huge cases of lavender-water, &c. (1757).

None but a tactician could follow the King of Prussia in this series of brilliant and skilful battles. The Seven Years' War, however various its incidents, was a political and strategical war: it has not the interest of the wars for ideas, the struggles for religion and for freedom of the 16th century and of our own time.

The defeat of Rosbach was followed by another at Crevelt, and by great reverses balanced by small advantages; the total ruin of the French navy and colonies; the English masters of the ocean and conquerors of India; the exhaustion and humiliation of old Europe in the presence of young Prussia. This is the history of the Seven Years' War. It was terminated under the ministry of the Duke of Choiseul. This minister, who was a man of ability, believed that he had made a masterstroke in negotiating the *Family Compact* between the different branches of the House of Bourbon (1761).

Amid the humiliations of the Seven Years' War, and by means of these very humiliations, the drama of the 18th century was rapidly advancing towards its catastrophe. Who was the loser in this and the former wars? Not France, but the nobility, whence alone the officers and generals were taken. Even her enemies could not deny the bravery of France after the instances of Chevert and d'Assas: and at the battle of Exiles the French troops had been seen scaling the Alps under grape-shot, rushing into the mouth of the cannon, at the moment of their discharge. The only generals worthy of mention at this time, Saxe and Broglie, were foreigners. He who appropriated to himself the glory of Fontenoy, the great general of the age in the opinion of women and

courtiers, the *Conqueror of Mahon*, the old Alcibiades of the old Voltaire—Richelieu—had proved sufficiently during the five campaigns of the war how much he deserved the reputation which he had so cleverly obtained. At any rate his campaigns were lucrative; he brought back money enough to construct upon the Boulevards the elegant "Pavillon de Hanovre."

Towards the end of this shameful Seven Years' War, during which aristocracy fell so low, the great intellectual development of democracy took place. It was as if France cried out to the nations, "It is not I who am vanquished." In 1750, the son of a Geneva watchmaker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, by turns a vagabond, a writer, and a lacquey, had cursed science in detestation of philosophy and the profession of literature: and then cursed aristocracy on account of the degeneracy of the nobility (1754). His feverish energy burns in every page of the "Nouvelle Héloïse." (1759). Naturalism is the theme of the "Émile," and deism of the "Profession de la Foi du Vicaire Savoyard" (1762). Finally in the "Contrat Social," the three watchwords of the Revolution are traced in characters of fire. The march of the Revolution was so irresistible that the King, who trembled at its approach, was nevertheless forced to labour in its favour and to pave the way for its advance. In 1763 he founded its temple, the *Pantheon*, which was destined to receive Rousseau and Voltaire. In 1764 he abolished the Jesuits, and in 1771 the Parliament. The docile instrument of necessity, he destroyed with a careless hand all that remained standing of the ruins of the Middle Ages.

The Society of the Jesuits, whose roots were supposed to have struck so deep, was overthrown all over Europe without a blow being struck. The Templars had perished in a similar manner in the 14th century, when the system of which they were a part had had its day. The Jesuits were left at the mercy of their bitter enemies—the parliaments. But just as the ruins of Port Royal had overwhelmed the Jesuits, the fall of the latter was fatal to the parliaments. These corporations, carried away by

their increasing popularity and their recent victory, attempted to strike out new paths. The imperfect balance of the ancient monarchy had been kept by the elastic opposition of the parliaments, who remonstrated, adjourned and in the end yielded respectfully. A few bold and headstrong spirits, among others La Chalotais, a native of Brittany, undertook to carry their authority farther. In the trial of the Duke of Aiguillon they insisted on exercising their prerogative and they were suppressed (1771). The judges of Lally, of Calas, of Sirven, and of Labarre, were not to be the engines of Revolution, still less the cabal who upset them. The witty Abbé Terray and the amusing Chancellor Maupéou, friends of the Duke of Aiguillon and Madame du Barry, had not sufficient honesty to be allowed to do good. Terray, who became Minister of Finance, remedied their disorder in a measure, but by means of a bankruptcy. Maupéou announced that justice in future should be gratuitously administered, and abolished the venality of the old system, but no one would believe in the disinterested administration of the creatures of Maupéou. Everyone laughed at the idea of their reformation, none so much as themselves. The pleadings of Beaumarchais were received with inextinguishable shouts of amusement. Louis XV. read them, and enjoyed them as much as his subjects. The selfish monarch saw more clearly than anyone else the growing danger of royalty, but he was right in his supposition that it would last his time. He died in 1774.

His unfortunate successor, Louis XVI., inherited all this confusion. Sad forebodings took place on the occasion of his marriage festivities, when many hundreds of spectators were killed. Nevertheless, the sight of this virtuous young King, taking his seat with his graceful consort upon the purified throne of Louis XV., had filled the country with hope. The worn-out society had an interval of happiness, of childlike emotion; it shed tears, admired itself in the midst of them, and thought that it had regained its youth. The Idyll came into fashion:

first the sentimentalities of Florian, then the innocence of Gessner, and at length the immortal eclogue of Paul and Virginia. The Queen built for herself a hamlet and a farm at Trianon. Philosophers drove the plough, at least with their pens. "Choiseul is a labourer and Voltaire a farmer." Everyone was interested in the people, loved the people, wrote for the people; philanthropy was in vogue; a little money was spent in charity, and a great deal in magnificent festivities.

While the higher classes were sincerely playing this sentimental comedy, the great universal movement which was to sweep away the whole system was continuing its march. The real confidant of the public, the Figaro of Beaumarchais, became every day more and more bitter; from comedy it turned to satire, from satire to tragedy. The throne, the parliament, the nobles, all were falling from weakness; a sort of general intoxication prevailed. Philosophy itself went mad under the contagion of Rousseau and Gilbert. There was no longer any belief or disbelief in religion, and yet society would have liked to believe; the strong-minded went in disguise to seek for faith in the phantasmagoria of Cagliostro and the magnetising tub of Mesmer. All round France, however, and unheard by her, echoed the eternal dialogue of rational scepticism; the apparent dogmatism of Kant was answering the nihilism of Hume, and, above all, the powerful voice of Goethe, harmonious and poetical, but immoral and egotistical. France, excited and preoccupied, heard nothing of the tumult around her. Germany was continuing the sceptical epic, while France was finishing the social drama.

The serio-comic aspect of these latter days of the old system is produced by the contrast between great promise and utter incompetence. Incompetence is the distinguishing feature of all the ministers of the time. They all promised everything, and effected nothing. M. de Choiseul wanted to protect Poland, humiliate England, and raise France by an European war, and yet he could not pay the ordinary expenses; if he had insisted on his

projects, the parliament which supported him would have abandoned him. Maupéou and Terray suppressed the parliament, but could not put anything in its place: they tried to reform the finances, and they depended upon the thieves of the public purse. Under Louis XVI., the great, virtuous, and courageous Turgot (1774—1776) proposed the true remedy: economy, and the abolition of privileges. But to whom did he make these proposals? To the privileged classes who overthrew him. Necessity, however, forced them to call to their assistance a skilful banker, an eloquent foreigner, a second but a virtuous Law. Necker promised wonders, he reassured all classes; he did not propose any fundamental reform, he would proceed gently. He inspired confidence, he applied to the public credit and obtained a loan. Confidence and a wise administration were to extend commerce; commerce would develop resources. Successive loans were secured upon uncertain, slow, and distant resources. Necker ended by throwing down his cards, and returning to the means proposed by Turgot—economy and equal taxation. His *Compte rendu* was a conclusive avowal of his impotence (1781).

It must be owned that Necker had to sustain a complicated struggle. Besides the home expenses, he was obliged to meet those of a war which France was carrying on in favour of America (1778—1784). She was helping to create a rival England in opposition to the old country. Although America has shown that it has forgotten this war, the French have never employed their money more wisely. The last naval victories of France and the creation of Cherbourg could not be over-paid. It was an extraordinary moment of confidence and enthusiasm. France envied America the possession of Franklin; her young nobles embarked in the crusade of liberty.

Having tried in vain the patriotic ministers, Turgot and Necker, the King turned to the Queen and the Court; he chose ministers among the courtiers. It was impossible to have a more agreeable minister than M. de

Calonne, a more reassuring guide to lead gaily to ruin. When he had exhausted the credit which the wise government of Necker had created, he was at a loss what next to do, and he assembled the Notables (1787). He was obliged to own to them that the loans had risen in a few years to 1,646,000,000 francs (65,840,000*l.*), and that there was an annual deficit of 140 millions. The Notables, who themselves belonged to the privileged classes, gave instead of money advice and accusations. Brienne, whom they raised to the position of Calonne, had recourse to taxation; the parliament refused to register the taxes, and asked for the States General, in other words, for its own ruin and that of the ancient monarchy.

The philosophers fell with Turgot, the bankers with Necker, and the courtiers with Calonne and Brienne. The privileged classes would not pay, and the people could no longer do so. In the words of an eminent historian, the States General only decreed a revolution, which had already taken place. Assembly of the States General, May 5, 1789.[1]

[1] This is the end of M. Michelet's book.

FOURTH PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

1789—1874.

CHAPTER XXII.[1]

THE history of the important and eventful period on which we are now entering will be rendered more intelligible by dividing it into three parts.

I. From 1789 to 1815 (to the downfall of Napoleon).

II. From 1815 to 1852 (to the establishment of the second French Empire).

III. From 1852 to 1874.

PART I.

FROM 1789 TO 1815.

FIRST SUBDIVISION.

I. In the beginning of this period all eyes were turned upon France. The French Revolution is the greatest event of modern times. It opened with the summoning by Necker of the States General, on the 5th of May, 1789, for the purpose of raising money to meet the immense deficit. The third and lowest estate of the realm formed an overwhelming majority. The Nobles refused to meet them on equal terms, and the Commons, conscious of their own strength, and inflamed by the harangues of the Abbé Sieyès and of Mirabeau (who now made his appearance on the scene), declared themselves the true representatives of France, and took the name of the

[1] Continuation by the translator.

National Assembly. They were soon joined by the majority of the clergy; and the Assembly was forced to retire to a neighbouring tennis-court, where the members swore to maintain their rights, and to continue to meet for the despatch of business as long as their services should be required. This was the celebrated oath of the "Jeu de paume" (June 20th, 1789).

From thence the Assembly removed to the church of St. Louis, and here the King held a royal sitting on June 23rd. He offered many concessions, but in too peremptory a manner to suit the temper of the Assembly. He withdrew, yet the Assembly continued to sit in the same independent temper; and four days afterwards the remainder of the clergy and the nobles joined the Assembly at the express desire of Louis XVI.

The King's next false move was to dismiss Necker, and at the same time to concentrate an army of 20,000 men round Paris. Camille Desmoulins stirred up the populace into revolt, and the first blood was shed on the 11th of July. On the 14th the Bastile was stormed and taken. The King proceeded to the Assembly alone, gave way on every point, recalled Necker, appointed Lafayette to command the National Guards, and assumed the tricolour cockade. These concessions could not restore order. Two of the late ministers were hanged by the mob; and the insurrection spread to the provinces, while the farmers feared to send corn to the capital, which was thus menaced by famine. The nobles determined to give up their privileges, and the 4th of August saw the abolition of all feudal tenures and rights. Medals were struck, and the event was celebrated by a *Te Deum* in Notre Dame.

The court party induced the King to summon one of the regiments of the line to Versailles; a banquet was given to the officers, and the Queen and Dauphin appeared carrying white cockades, which they distributed with great applause. The report of this occurrence no sooner reached Paris than an infuriated mob marched to Versailles, on the 5th of October, seized the royal

family and brought them back in triumph to the Tuileries. For the next two years France was supposed to be a constitutional monarchy; and Louis, who had taken the oath to the new constitution, assumed the title of King of the French.

Mirabeau's influence was predominant in the Assembly, which was now generally called the Constituent Assembly; he intrigued with the court while he professed to serve the popular cause. His death in April, 1791, threw the power into the hands of men of more advanced opinions.

Necker in vain attempted to restore order to the finances. The whole property of the clergy, and of many of the nobles, being sequestered, the municipality of Paris contracted to take a certain portion of the confiscated estates, and, as it was impossible to pay in specie, promissory notes, secured in the national laws, were issued to serve instead of money. This was the famous system of *assignats*. In the end, the over-issue of these notes left them unredeemable and worthless.

Lafayette and Necker procured the exile of the Duke of Orleans, while the brothers of the King and immense numbers of the nobility emigrated. Louis XVI. would willingly have followed them, and once indeed made his escape, with the Queen and their children, from Paris; but the whole measure was so ill-conceived and ill-executed, that they were arrested at Varennes, and brought back on the 25th of June, 1791. From this time they became mere prisoners in the Tuileries. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved, and succeeded by the Legislative Assembly on the 1st of October; none of the members of the former Assembly were allowed a seat in it.

The extraordinary influence of the Clubs now made itself felt. To that of the *Jacobins* belonged Robespierre; and to that of the *Cordeliers*, Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine. The club of the Moderate party was the *Feuillants*, to which Barnave, Lameth, and Lafayette belonged. Another formidable

party was that of the *Gironde* (its leaders being the representatives of the southern departments of which the Gironde was one), less revolutionary than the Jacobins, and less constitutional than the Feuillants.

To this party belonged the minister Roland, and his far more distinguished wife. The threatening attitude of foreign nations carried him to power. England refused to interfere in the internal affairs of France, but the Empire, and the House of Austria, the Kings of Prussia, Sardinia, and Spain, in dread of the extension of the principles of the Revolution, were preparing to attack France on all sides. The Legislative Assembly was alarmed, and suspected the constitutional ministry of collusion with foreign powers; the ministers resigned, and were succeeded by Roland, Clavière, and Dumouriez, in March 1792.

War with the allied powers was announced by Louis in person to the Assembly, and was received with acclamations and cries of "Vive le roi!"

This was the beginning of the long continental wars in which every country in turn took part against France, even England being soon drawn into the struggle by a French declaration of war. The French arms at first met with reverses, and the ministers endeavoured to impose upon the King certain decrees, which he refused to ratify. Roland resigned, a feeble ministry succeeded, and the Girondists and Jacobins coalesced and instigated an attack by the mob of Paris on the Tuileries on the 20th of June. Lafayette, who had always been treated by the royal family with marked distrust, made a final effort to save them. He hurried from the camp and demanded the punishment of the insurgents; but he failed in this, and likewise in persuading the King to escape. He returned to the army, and on the 3rd of August, Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, whose election to that office had been favoured by the Court in opposition to Lafayette, proceeded at the head of the sections (the new divisions of Paris) to demand for the Assembly the deposition of the King. On being refused, the mob again rose on

the 10th of August, expelled the members of the Commune, and attacked the Tuileries. The King and royal family escaped to the Assembly, while the Swiss guard, who defended the Tuileries, were slaughtered. The Convention succeeded at this time to the Legislative Assembly, and the royal family was imprisoned in the prison-fortress of the Temple. It was now a fight between the Girondists and the Montagnards, or extreme Republicans.

On the night of the 30th of August all the barriers of Paris were closed and strictly guarded, and 3,000 persons were arrested and crowded into the prisons. On the 2nd of September a mad panic that the royalists were in league with the Prussians spread through Paris, and a mob of ruffians, hired by the Commune, began a general massacre; the prisons were emptied, and their unfortunate inmates slaughtered on the spot. Above 2,000 persons are said to have perished during these horrible scenes, which continued for four days; and the Commune applauded and recompensed the murderers, who were elevated into patriots. All the effects of the slaughtered captives were confiscated, the jewel-office in the Tuileries pillaged, and the costly ornaments of the Crown disappeared for ever. The whole thing was passed over in silence by the Assembly.

The King was brought before the Convention, condemned on the 26th of December, and on the 21st of January, 1793, beheaded.

On the following 10th of March, the Revolutionary Tribunal was set up for the speedier trial of state offences, and on the 27th of May the celebrated Committee of Public Safety, of which Marat was president, became the executive ministry. Two months afterwards he was assassinated by Charlotte Corday.

The principal Girondists were arrested on the 2nd of June, and the Reign of Terror began. Marie Antoinette was guillotined on the 16th of October, the Girondists on the 31st, and Madame Roland before the end of the year.

Robespierre and Danton had now become the con-

servative members of the Convention. They were opposed by the followers of Hébert, the worship of the Goddess of Reason was established, the names of the months changed, and the country, which was now declared an Indivisible Republic in compliance with the Girondist scheme for establishing a system of Federal States, was divided into Departments in the place of the ancient provinces.

But Robespierre was sufficiently powerful to cause the destruction of all his opponents. First he demolished the Hébertists, and he next determined to get rid of Danton, his sole remaining rival.

He caused the execution of the Dantonists on the 6th of April, 1794, and set to work to establish some semblance of religion and order, but the means that he employed were more arbitrary than ever, and the scaffolds ran with blood. Some of his own followers discovered that their names were on the list of the condemned, and in their turn they conspired, and stirred up the Convention against Robespierre. His arrest was decreed by the Convention in his presence; the members drowning in uproar all his attempts to make himself heard. He was carried off to prison, and attempted to commit suicide, but failed, and was borne mangled and bleeding to the guillotine. His head fell amid the execrations of the crowd; on the 28th July, 1794. With him ended the Reign of Terror —a tyranny more cruel and despotic than any age had yet witnessed.

SECOND SUBDIVISION OF PART I.

It is now necessary to take a short retrospective view of the foreign affairs in which France became involved by the Revolution.

The year 1789 was the last of the life and reign of the Emperor Joseph II. With the best intentions, his attempts at civil reform, which were carried out with utter disregard of the constitutional privileges of the various states over which he ruled, had in a great measure

undermined the fabric of power erected by his mother, Maria Theresa, and a revolt of his Flemish subjects in 1789 broke his heart. He was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II.

The monarchs of Europe were secretly solicited by Louis XVI. to intervene in his cause. The Emperor and the Kings of Spain and Sardinia concluded a treaty at Mantua in May, 1791, agreeing to make a formidable display of troops on the French frontier for this purpose. The disastrous flight to Varennes showed the futility of this project, and in August, 1791, the Emperor and King of Prussia concluded a treaty at Pilnitz, in which they formally espoused the cause of the French monarch.

His liberation and acceptance of a constitutional government rendered this treaty sterile in its effects, but the Republicans were bent on war; the Girondists continually insulted Austria in the Assembly, and Louis XVI. (as we have already stated) was compelled to declare war on April 20, 1792.

In this struggle Austria was joined by Prussia and at a later period by Holland; Russia at this time holding aloof.

The French army was much larger than that of the allies. It chose Flanders as the field of battle, and was disgracefully routed. The allies accumulated on the frontier, and prepared to enter Champagne under the command of the Duke of Brunswick. They entered France on July 30, fortress after fortress surrendered; Lafayette abandoned the command, and was replaced by Dumouriez. The allies succeeded in interposing themselves between the French army and Paris, and a partial engagement, in which for the first time the French troops made a successful resistance, took place at Valmy on the 20th September. Paris was, nevertheless, really open to the allies, but the Duke of Brunswick was intriguing for his own purposes with the French ministers, and on the 29th an armistice was concluded. The allies restored Longwy and Verdun, and retired unmolested.

Early in the year 1793 the French, irritated by the speeches in the English House of Commons consequent upon the execution of Louis XVI., declared war against England. Unluckily for her the great Chatham had passed away, and William Pitt, who had now governed England for thirteen years, although great in peace, did not possess the qualities which ought to distinguish a minister in time of war. His policy had been marked by an enlightened liberality: and he passed several useful measures (administrative reform, constitution given to Canada, a new commercial system, new policy with regard to Ireland, &c.).

Until the moment when he was dragged into war, the intention of Pitt had been to leave France to settle her own affairs without foreign intervention. But the democratic principles of the French Revolution roused a vigorous hatred in the wealthier classes, while the horrible excesses which disgraced it disgusted the whole English people. The eloquence of Edmund Burke, who until that time had been an advocate of liberal measures, exasperated this horror and indignation: and Fox, Pitt's great rival, and the head of the popular party, found it difficult to restrain the desertion of his followers when he protested against Burke's attacks on the French Revolution.

The generalissimo of the allies, among whom England was now included, was the Prince of Coburg, who was slow and inefficient; the Duke of York commanded the British contingent.

Dumouriez invaded the Dutch territory, and a general action was fought at Neerwinden on March 18, in which the French were unsuccessful, and soon afterwards evacuated Flanders. Dumouriez, disgusted, as Lafayette had been before him, with the barbarities then going on in Paris, left his army, and deserted to the Austrian lines. The allies were everywhere successful, and advanced to within fifteen days' march of Paris, but their mutual jealousies saved France. The British fleet, under Lord Hood, was driven back from Toulon; but Hood contrived on retiring to destroy the French ships; and Lord Howe's

victory over the French fleet, on the 1st of June, restored in a measure the prestige of England.

The reactionary panic continued to rage in England, and the Government was engaged in harshly repressing every symptom of disturbance at home. The Habeas Corpus Bill was suspended, public meetings placed under severe restraint, and seditious writers unmercifully punished. Severe laws were also enacted against aliens. In Scotland, still more tyrannical methods of repression were exercised.

The English army was so small and demoralized that Mr. Pitt was forced to confine the assistance given by England mainly to subsidies, and he agreed to pay a large sum both to Austria and Prussia for this purpose. It was languidly and inefficiently spent, and the war continued with varying fortunes, and little material result.

The royalists in the French provinces seized this opportunity for stirring up civil war, which assumed its most important proportions in La Vendée, where it was headed by the heroic Henri de la Rochejaquelin; but after a series of brilliant engagements the royalists were obliged to submit to the superior force of their adversaries, who revenged themselves with frightful barbarity.

Meanwhile a totally different state of things had risen up in Paris.

After the death of Robespierre a new constitution was drawn up; and the Directory, a council of five, assumed the conduct of the government (22nd August, 1795). Moderate measures were in favour, and Barras was appointed to command the armed force which was to oppose the still refractory Jacobins.

Now first rose into notice the man who for more than twenty years was to attract the attention of the whole world—Napoleon Buonaparte, who had already earned some distinction by raising the siege of Toulon in 1793.

Barras intrusted the direction of the military operations against the insurgent sections of Paris to Buonaparte, who was so successful that he was shortly afterwards appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, and

joined its head-quarters at Nice on the 27th March, 1796.

The first confederacy against France having been dissolved by the withdrawal of Prussia and of Holland, a new alliance was signed between Austria, Russia, and Great Britain, on Feb. 8, 1795. Russia, however, furnished only a small naval contingent in the North Sea.

The chief seat of the war was in Italy, where the Sardinian troops, reinforced by the Austrians, obtained at first some trifling advantages over the French, but the latter receiving powerful reinforcements, attacked the Austrians at Loano, and utterly routed them. On the Rhine, however, the Imperialists were successful, and in December, 1795, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon.

The year 1796 found the Directory still in power, and the Austrian Archduke Charles, "whose soul," said Napoleon, "belonged to the heroic age," first rose into fame. In the month of September he drove the French in the utmost disorganization from the Rhine, and by the 20th of October Germany was delivered from her invaders.

Meanwhile, Buonaparte was gaining victory after victory in Italy, and under the pretence of delivering her from Austrian rule was preparing for her a still more iron tyranny. Her money, and even her celebrated works of art, were gradually taken to supply the wants and minister to the vanity of France.

After conquering the Austrians in Lombardy, Buonaparte resolved to recross the Alps and pursue them into the heart of their hereditary provinces; but both parties were so exhausted by their struggles that a suspension of arms was agreed upon at Leoben, on the 7th of April, 1797. As soon as the armistice was concluded the French troops overran Venetia, the Senate was forced to abdicate, the French landed on the Piazza of St. Mark, and the celebrated bronze horses were carried off to Paris. By the peace of Campo Formio, which followed, between Austria and France, Flanders and Savoy were ceded to France, and a Cisalpine Republic, including

Lombardy with Modena, Cremona, and Venice, was to be established. This treaty was signed on the 17th of October, 1797.

During this time the English had not been idle. Pitt wished for peace, but the negotiations for the purpose were unsuccessful, the Directory confiding in its power to crush England now that she was left to fight single-handed. The warlike spirit of the nation was raised by the perfidy of France, for even while negotiations for peace were being carried on in Paris, a French fleet sailed for Bantry Bay, hoping to strike the English nation in its most vulnerable point; but a great storm having dispersed his ships, the French admiral sailed back with the scattered remnant to Brest (December 24, 1796).

An absurd attempt was also made by the French, in February 1797, to land in Pembrokeshire. It was utterly unsuccessful; but the fear of invasion struck great consternation throughout England. A commercial panic ensued, and an Order in Council was issued suspending cash payments. Spain, which was now entirely subservient to the French republic, declared war on England in October, 1796; but on the 14th of February, 1797, her fleet was defeated by Sir John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent.

A more alarming event than could be produced by the hostility of Spain or France took place in this year—the mutiny of the British sailors in the Channel (April 22), at the Nore (May 22), and at the Texel (June 6). Many of the sailors' grievances were real, and the mutinies were repressed as much by judicious concessions as by vigorous measures.

Once more Lord Malmesbury opened negotiations for peace; but the attempt failed, to the disappointment of Pitt.

The invasion of Ireland by the French had been hailed by the inhabitants, who had for a century been suffering from misgovernment. Led on by their priests, they attempted a rebellion, which was vigorously but barbarously put down at Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy.

A humane and judicious Viceroy was appointed (Lord Cornwallis), and peace was restored. This outbreak led Pitt to propose the legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain—a measure long desired. It passed both Houses of Parliament in 1800, and became a reality on 1st January in the following year.

For two years after the peace of Campo Formio, the Continent was at peace, if peace it could be called, during which France was occupied in draining her resources and in exciting dissensions in every country in which she set her foot. Buonaparte remained for a short time at home, but in May, 1798, sailed with an army and fleet for Egypt. He escaped the vigilance of Nelson, who did not succeed in reaching the bay of Aboukir until after the French army had disembarked, but who afterwards almost destroyed the French fleet in the battle of the Nile (August 1, 1798). In Syria, likewise, the French expedition was foiled by the defence of Acre under Sir Sydney Smith.

Meanwhile, things had been going on in such an unsatisfactory manner in Paris, that Buonaparte, seeing his opportunity, suddenly returned from Egypt, and by means of the army upset the Directory and effected the revolution of the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799), changed the Directory into a Consulate of three persons, and assumed the title of First Consul. From this moment the government of France was nothing but a sheer despotism.

The news of the battle of the Nile had encouraged the southern Italians, aided by Austria, to resume hostilities, but the French drove them back on every point, and the King of Naples took refuge under the British flag in Sicily. Naples was proclaimed a Republic under the name of the Parthenopæan Republic, and affiliated to that of France (1798).

During the absence of Napoleon a new alliance had been formed between Russia, Austria, and Great Britain against France, and the French met with reverses in Northern Italy and Switzerland.

Early in the year 1800, Buonaparte ventured to leave Paris, in order to retrieve the disasters in Northern Italy. His genius carried all before it, and the hardly contested battle of Marengo (June 14, 1800), in which Desaix was killed, decided the fate of Italy. An armistice was concluded on the following day at Alessandria.

Austria lost no time in preparing for a fresh attack, but her power was completely broken in the next campaign by Moreau at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800). Further victories of Buonaparte led to the treaty of Luneville, and the Continent had a short respite.

On the 27th of March, 1802, the peace of Amiens was signed between England and France, a peace in which England gave up nearly all the colonies she had won through her naval supremacy.

On the 12th of May, 1803, hostilities again broke out. All the English travelling in France were arrested and detained. The French occupied Hanover and Northern Germany. Both Russia and Austria took umbrage at this; and they were still further exasperated by the seizure on German soil and the judicial murder of the Duc d'Enghien, one of the Bourbon princes. The King of Sweden, likewise, was revolted by this act, and a new coalition was formed between England and the continental powers, with the exception of Prussia and Spain.

Italy was at this time under the dominion of the brothers and generals of Napoleon, who now called himself Emperor, and was crowned by the Pope himself (December 2, 1804). A few months afterwards he assumed the title of King of Italy.

In 1803-4, Napoleon organized an immense army at Boulogne for the invasion of England, the whole force amounting to 155,000 men, with 14,654 horses and 432 pieces of cannon, provisions for a long war, and 2,293 vessels of transport; he superintended every detail himself. He counted upon combined action on the part of the French and Spanish navies to protect the disembarkation of his troops.

A general outburst of patriotism took place in England;

supplies of all kinds were voted, 50,000 men were added to the army, and the volunteer force amounted to 300,000, while the fleet was increased to 600 vessels of war.

The French and Spanish fleets under Villeneuve were baffled in their attempts to carry out the programme of Napoleon by the vigilance and activity of Nelson, and retired to Cadiz. On 19th Oct., they left that port under peremptory orders from Napoleon, and Nelson came up with them off Cape Trafalgar. He totally annihilated the French and Spanish navies, gained his most brilliant victory, and lost his life on the 21st October, 1805.

In the meantime Napoleon had given up all hope of invading England, and had turned his attention towards the Rhine. Prussia still hesitated. She would neither join the allies, nor permit the passage of the French, and Napoleon directed his troops towards Ulm, crossing the territory of Prussia in disregard of her neutrality. The Archduke Charles was in Italy, and Napoleon obtained an easy victory over General Mack, who surrendered on October 18th with his whole army.

Russia and Austria united their armies to make a simultaneous attack. Napoleon concentrated his forces at Austerlitz, and induced the allied army to make a false move and expose their flank. "Before to-morrow night," he exclaimed, "that army will be mine!" On the morning of the following day, the 2nd December, 1805, the engagement took place. The allies were completely routed; Prussia changed her projected declaration of war to an offer of congratulation, and was rewarded for her perfidy by the cession of Hanover. "Roll up that map," said Mr. Pitt, pointing to the map of Europe which was hanging from the wall, "for it will not be wanted these ten years."[1] This victory broke his heart. Pitt died in the following January, and Fox a few months afterwards. The confederacy of the allies was dissolved, and on the 27th December, 1805, peace between France and Austria was signed at Presburg.

[1] See Lord Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," vol. iv. p. 369.

Several of the German princes joined Napoleon in the Confederation of the Rhine, and Francis II. formally renounced all pretensions to be the head of the Empire, and took the title of Emperor of Austria, one of his hereditary states, of which he had until then been Grand Duke. Thus ended the famous Empire of the West, which had carried the traditions of the Roman Empire down to modern times. Francis II. henceforth ruled over only Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and his other hereditary states, and at the same time the German princes dropped the title of Elector and assumed that of King.

In the course of some abortive negotiations for peace Napoleon had offered to restore Hanover to England. Immense indignation at this offer was felt by Prussia, who had hoped to retain this price of her perfidy, and who roused by this and other humiliations, at length took the field against France. Outnumbered and outwitted in every direction, her army sustained repeated defeats at Saalfeld (October 10) Jena and Auerstadt, (October 14), Lübeck (November 6), and Magdeburg (November 8, 1806). The King of Saxony joined the Confederation of the Rhine; Napoleon took up his residence in the royal palace at Berlin, and added every insult to the victory which his arms had achieved.

Neither Russia nor England had, however, been either conquered or gained over, in spite of the Machiavellian policy of Talleyrand. Poland hoped to find a champion in Napoleon, who took up his quarters in Warsaw.

The Russian general, Benningsen, fell upon the French army, and drove it towards the Vistula; Napoleon, alarmed, took the field in person, and the hardly-fought battle of Eylau, in which Napoleon, as at Marengo, narrowly escaped defeat, was the result (February 8, 1807). Napoleon returned to Paris to make preparations for renewing the war. In the next campaign the French arms were successful, and the battle of Friedland led to an armistice, which was succeeded by the peace of Tilsit, settled on a raft in the middle of the river by the two

Emperors, who, on this occasion, made up their grievances, and agreed to combine against England (July 7, 1807). The Prussian acquisitions in Poland were bestowed upon the King of Saxony, the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Elbe were given under the name of the "Kingdom of Westphalia" to Jerome Buonaparte. Poland gained nothing. The two Emperors thought that henceforth they would have nothing to do but to divide the world between them.

By a secret article in the treaty, which was betrayed to the English Government, Denmark was to be summoned to declare war upon Great Britain, and in order to prevent the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of the two Emperors, Copenhagen was bombarded by the English, and her fleet captured (September 5, 1807). On this occasion Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had distinguished himself by a succession of victories in India gained his first European laurels.

Napoleon was now turning his thoughts towards the Peninsula, and his first move was to join Spain in a campaign for the division of Portugal, whose cause was espoused by Great Britain. The Portuguese royal family set sail from Lisbon in British ships, and Napoleon's generals scourged the country. Spain was soon to experience the perfidy of her ally, who, after fomenting disagreement between the king and his son, the Prince of the Asturias, seized and dethroned them both, and Joseph Buonaparte was forced to leave Naples and become the unwilling usurper of the Spanish crown. He entered Madrid on July 21, 1808. Meanwhile, Great Britain and Spain had made up their differences, and Sir A. Wellesley landed in Portugal, and defeated Junot at Vimiera on August 21, 1808. Another expedition, under Sir John Moore, advanced into the north of Spain. His Spanish allies failing him, he was forced to fall back; but he baffled the attempt of the French to cut off his communication with the sea-coast, and obtained a brilliant victory at Corunna, for which he paid with his life on the 17th of January, 1809.

The French army in Germany had been greatly reduced by draughts for Spain, and Austria saw that the moment was opportune for an attack. As soon as Napoléon became aware of her preparations he left the peninsula for Paris and subsequently joined his army at Donauworth. He found the Archduke's force interposed between Davoust and Massena, and a little more quickness on the part of the Austrians might have destroyed the French. Leaving his own army to his marshals, Napoleon commanded in person the troops of the German Confederation. He harassed the Austrian forces, succeeded in dividing them, cut off their communication with Vienna, and gained the victory of Eckmühl (April 22).

On the 10th of May the French army entered Vienna. The Austrians collected before the capital, Eugène Beauharnais, with his army from Italy, succeeded in joining Napoleon, and the eyes of Europe were fixed upon the scene of the approaching struggle. Several unimportant engagements took place, but at length the village of Aspern became the theatre of a murderous conflict (May 19, 20), in which the Austrians had the advantage; the heroic Marshal Lannes was killed, and the French succeeded with difficulty in escaping into the island of Lobau, after the loss of 35,000 men.

Napoleon was now in a situation of extreme danger: the Tyrolese were in open revolt, and the German people were everywhere stimulated to oppose their conqueror. During the month of June the French remained in the island of Lobau, making active preparations. On the 5th of July Napoleon collected his forces, took the Austrian lines in reverse, and cut off their communication with Hungary. The Austrians fell back upon the field of Wagram, and it was here that the great battle was fought in which, at one moment, Buonaparte was nearly checkmated. The cry of "All is lost!" was heard in the French lines, when Macdonald, who was commanding under Davoust, on the one side, and Napoleon in the centre gave orders for a general charge, and the Austrians were driven back. They effected a

skilful retreat, leaving Napoleon master of the field. An armistice was proposed by the Archduke and Buonaparte. Austria purchased peace by a fresh surrender of territory, and Germany submitted for another three years to the yoke of her conqueror.

As soon as he returned from Wagram, Napoleon resolved upon divorcing the Empress Josephine, and on April 1, 1810, he married Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Emperor of Austria. In due course a son was born to him, and he believed his dynasty to be secured. The world seemed at his feet; but in reality we may date his decline from this period.

In Spain, Wellington was reaping new laurels day by day. Forced by the failure of his Spanish allies to retire into Portugal, he constructed the lines of Torres Vedras, whence, after his repulse of a great army under Marshal Massena, he issued, in March 1811, to gain victory after victory—of Fuentes d'Onore, May 5, of Albuera, May 16, 1811; capitulation of Ciudad Rodrigo, January 19, 1812; storming of Badajoz, April 6; battle of Salamanca, July 22. He entered Madrid on the 12th of August, 1812.—He received a temporary check at Burgos in October, retreated to Ciudad Rodrigo, gained a decisive victory over King Joseph at Vittoria (June 21, 1813), occupied the passes of the Pyrenees, took San Sebastian on the 31st of August, and advanced successfully as far as the walls of Bayonne in the following September.

While Wellington was gaining these victories, the star of Napoleon was declining in the east. In the spring of 1812 he resolved upon invading Russia, and in the middle of May set out for Dresden to take command of the army. While there he held the most brilliant court upon record: all the sovereigns of Germany were assembled to do him honour; kings waited in his anteroom, and queens were among Maria Louisa's ladies of honour. This invasion was planned upon an altogether unprecedented scale. "Never," he said, "was the success of an expedition more certain."

On the 24th of June he crossed the Niemen with a

prodigious host. The patriotism of the Russians was roused to the utmost. They resolved to call in the aid of natural causes to subdue their almost invincible enemy, and they retreated before him so as to lure him into the heart of the country. The very largeness of the scale of Napoleon's operations was an element of destruction. The men suffered from the effects of the climate, the horses could get no provender, and consequently the greater part of the guns had to be abandoned.

In Lithuania, many of the inhabitants flocked to his standard, and several indecisive engagements took place during the following month. The Russians continued to retire, and the French to advance, until they reached the plain between Smolensko and Moscow, on which, on the 7th of September, the great battle of Borodino was fought, the immense losses of which were about equal on both sides. The Russians continued their policy, and retired upon Moscow, to which city they were followed by their enemy. On the morning of the 14th, Napoleon first beheld its minarets and cupolas. The cry of "Moscow! Moscow!" burst from the ranks as the army entered the famous city,—but found it a city of the dead, for its 300,000 inhabitants had left with the Russian troops, after making preparations for burning it to the ground. Scarcely three days had passed before fire burst out in all directions; the city was in flames, and Napoleon escaped with difficulty from the Kremlin. Napoleon negotiated for peace; but the Czar gave him no definite reply, well knowing the distress of the French army. It was constantly harassed by small skirmishes, and in want of the bare necessaries of life. In the kitchen of the brilliant Murat were found roasted cats and horseflesh.

At length Napoleon resolved upon retreat. He left the ruins of Moscow on the 20th of October, with a sadly diminished but still formidable army. The hardships they endured on the march are unparalleled in history. The winter set in unusually early, and the French suffered frightfully from the cold. Their fingers and toes fell off, the sentinels were frozen at their posts,

and the men gladly dropped down to die. Blinding snowstorms impeded the way, and the stragglers were slaughtered by the Cossacks and the peasants. Among the most horrible incidents was the passage of the Beresina, with the Russians in pursuit. Only a portion of the French managed to cross the bridge in safety; the remainder fell into the frozen river, and were either drowned or cut in pieces by the enemy. In Poland, Napoleon received news of a conspiracy at home; so, leaving the relics of his army under the command of Murat, he set off, with a couple of attendants, and reached Paris at the same time as the famous Twenty-ninth Bulletin, which described these disasters and filled the country with consternation.

The presence of Napoleon, the frankness with which he told the tale of the unparalleled sufferings and heroic endurance of his army, restored in a measure his waning popularity. His first act was to raise a new army; for on the appearance of the Russians on the Niemen, Prussia had thrown off the French yoke, and Murat had been forced to fall back on the Elbe. Had Napoleon been willing to withdraw even a portion of the men who were scattered over the fortresses in Germany, he might have secured the services of veteran troops, instead of taking the field with a force consisting chiefly of raw recruits added to the miserable remnant of the brilliant army which had set out for Russia in the preceding year. He fixed his head-quarters at Dresden. The first encounter was at Lutzen, where Napoleon barely gained the victory. Two terrible but indecisive battles were fought at Bautzen, on the 20th and 21st of May. After an armistice of some months, Austria joined the allies.

The final struggle took place at Leipsic. At 9 A.M. on the 18th of October the great battle began. The allies are said to have assembled 230,000 combatants. Napoleon had not chosen his position with his accustomed skill, nor had he many left of the men who had fought at Wagram. The troops of Saxony and Würtemberg

deserted and joined the ranks of the allies in the midst of the battle. Overwhelmed by numbers, Napoleon was forced to retreat across the Rhine, and the three sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia met in triumph in the great square of Leipsic in the afternoon of the 19th. The garrisons of Napoleon on the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Oder, all surrendered before the close of the year, and the Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. Italy fell under the yoke of Austria, the Prince of Orange returned to Holland from England, and the French were forced to abandon the Low Countries.

Napoleon, on his return to Paris, laid before the Senate a statement of his position and of the dangers which threatened the country. Again levies of raw troops were raised and supplies voted. At midnight on the 31st of December, 1813, the united armies of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians crossed the Rhine; Bernadotte, a French marshal, who had been chosen as a Crown Prince by Sweden, was advancing against his former chief from Holstein, and Wellington was marching up from the south.

Napoleon left Paris early on the 25th of January, to take the command of his army at Châlons. He is said never to have exhibited more skill than in this disastrous campaign. He won every battle where he commanded in person. After the victory of Montereau (February 8, 1814) he resolved upon diverting the allies from Paris by placing himself in their rear, so as to carry the war in a new direction. But, after some hesitation, secret intelligence received from Paris determined the allies to march on to the capital. Napoleon countermarched with prodigious celerity, but the allies had the advance, and by the time he reached Fontainebleau, on the evening of the 30th of March, Paris was in the hands of his enemies. Napoleon remained at Fontainebleau while the fickle populace received the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and their followers, with enthusiasm and cries of "Vive l'Empereur Alexandre!" and "Vive Louis XVIII.!" Napoleon signed his

abdication on the 11th of April, and on the same day the brother of Louis XVI. left his exile in England to ascend the throne of France. Napoleon was banished, with the empty title of emperor, to the island of Elba.

Louis XVIII., however, found his throne anything but a bed of roses: the emigrants expected to have their estates and privileges restored to them, the new men of the Empire were by no means inclined to relinquish their acquisitions, and general discontent prevailed in Paris.

A congress of ambassadors from the European powers met at Vienna in the following September to readjust the map of Europe. Its proceedings were anything but harmonious, for every nation except England made the most extravagant demands. Just when at length it appeared likely to settle its differences, the news of the escape of Buonaparte from Elba fell like a bomb upon the assembly. He landed at Cannes on the 1st of March, 1815, and had not gone far before he met a regiment of his old soldiers, by whom he was enthusiastically received. Marshal Ney, who had taken service under Louis XVIII., could not resist an appeal from his old master, and troop after troop joined the Emperor. Louis XVIII. left Paris for Ghent, and Napoleon once more took up his quarters in the Tuileries. He was carried up the staircase in the arms of his followers to the state apartments, where a brilliant crowd was waiting to welcome him. Then followed the "reign of a hundred days."

Napoleon found his position one of extreme peril and difficulty. He granted liberal institutions to France in the "Acte Additionnel," and endeavoured once more to reorganize the army. He resolved to anticipate the movements of the allies, who had refused to negotiate, by concentrating his troops on the Belgian frontier, and destroying the English and Prussian armies under Blucher and Wellington before the Austrians and Russians had time to come up.

He crossed the frontier on the 14th of June, and wrested Ligny from the Prussians on the 16th. Mean-

while Wellington prevented Ney from gaining the position of Quatre Bras, and on the 17th established himself near the village of Waterloo, for the purpose of covering Brussels. On the following day was fought the celebrated battle of Waterloo. Early in the morning the two armies were drawn up face to face. Wellington's force was composed of 68,000 men, of whom scarcely 24,000 were British, while the army of Napoleon amounted to 72,000 picked troops. The French had also greatly the advantage in artillery. Nevertheless, relying in well-deserved confidence on the co-operation of Blucher, Wellington calmly awaited the attack.

Heavy rain had fallen during the night, and Napoleon deferred the battle as long as possible, in order to give time for the ground to dry. He hoped to intimidate the enemy by exhibiting the imposing lines of his army, and thought to make short work of the small force opposed to him. "At last," he exclaimed, "I hold those English in my hand!"

The first gun was fired about 11 A.M. The English army fought with a vigour which could not be surpassed, and for many hours resisted, unaided, the repeated attacks of the French. Towards four o'clock the approach of a large body of Prussians, who had been delayed by the state of the roads and other obstacles, diverted a portion of the French army. The remainder continued their attacks on the British forces until about half-past seven, when a second large body of Prussians attacked and routed the right wing of the French just when the Imperial Guard, which Napoleon had kept in hand to the last, made the final attempt on the British right centre, which has been well called the "madness of despair." The defeat of the French was completed when Blucher's columns soon after poured across the sole line of escape. Seeing the overthrow of his chosen troops and total rout of his army, Napoleon galloped from the field, exclaiming "All is lost!" and hastened to carry the first news of the disaster to Paris, which he reached on the 21st. Once more he resigned his crown, and proceeded to

Rochefort, whence he hoped to embark for America. But the sea was as full of his enemies as the land, and he finally resolved upon surrendering to the British Government. He was conveyed on board a British frigate to the island of St. Helena, where he passed the remainder of his days, and died at the age of fifty-two, on the 5th of May, 1821.

PART II.

FROM 1815 TO 1852.

"The world was at peace."[1]

It is a relief to turn from the incessant aggressions of Napoleon to a period of comparative tranquillity.

France had gained scarcely anything by the brilliant victories of Buonaparte. Her limits, as settled by the peace of Paris, were nearly those of 1790. Her navy was destroyed, and the blood of her people had been poured out like water.

By the treaty of Vienna, Holland and Belgium were united into one kingdom, under the Prince of Orange. The Rhenish provinces, half of Saxony and a slice of the duchy of Warsaw, were bestowed on Prussia. The kingdom of Poland was annexed to Russia, but its independence was provided for. Norway was separated from Denmark and joined to Sweden. Austria acquired the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Genoa was given to Sardinia, which thus laid the foundation of her future greatness. The Papal Government was re-established in the States of the Church. Naples and Sicily were restored to their Bourbon rulers, and Tuscany became again a grand duchy. Spain continued in a constant state of insurrection. Ferdinand VII. refused to abide by the constitution which had been established

[1] Martineau's History of the Thirty Years' Peace.

during the wars of Buonaparte. It was restored in 1820, and in 1822 French troops again entered Spain, brought back the king, and occupied the country for seven years. In Portugal also there was much confusion and civil war until 1828, when Donna Maria was settled on the throne.

England retained some important colonies, especially Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, but in Europe nothing, save moral prestige. As Napoleon said at St. Helena, "You give up everything and gain nothing." She had, however, been raised to the highest point of influence by the victories of Nelson and of Wellington, and in the thirty years of peace which followed 1815, her prosperity increased enormously, although the close of the war was followed by much distress and discontent. George III., who had become insane in 1811, remained in the same condition until his death in 1820, and the Prince of Wales, as Regent, performed the functions of the sovereign.

An attack on the Prince Regent as he returned from opening Parliament in 1817 was followed by a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The bread riots, consequent on the corn laws and the scarcity in the north, were likewise put down with great severity.

Mr. Peel now rose into notice, and passed an act for the resumption of cash payments and the regulation of the currency.

Meanwhile, Louis XVIII. was governing France in a constitutional spirit, although he was greatly hampered by the conflicting claims of the old and the new nobility.

A congress of European powers was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in September, 1818, for the purpose of withdrawing the army of occupation, and generally settling the affairs of the Continent. To the disinterested efforts of the Duke of Wellington (who supported as much as possible the expostulations of the French Government) it is mainly due that some agreement at length took place between the different powers; but they exhibited so much unscrupulous rapacity that England, henceforth

held still more aloof. The Zollverein—an important commercial union—was established in this year, and was gradually joined by all the German States with the exception of Austria.

The most striking figure in the English cabinet after the death of Lord Londonderry was Canning. Too independent to be popular, envied for his brilliant talents, disliked by the great Whig families as an adventurer, and by the Tories on account of his liberal tendencies, the inevitable anxieties of his position were increased by factious opposition, but the death of Lord Liverpool rendered his services necessary to the nation, and for three months he was Prime Minister. Before he had time to obtain recognition for his statesmanlike qualities the hand of death was laid upon him (August 6, 1827). One of the first acts of his ministry had been an intervention in favour of Greece, which had risen in revolt against Turkey; and in the October following his death Sir Edward Codrington, in conjunction with the French and the Russians, destroyed at Navarino the Turkish and Egyptian fleet, that were devastating the Morea. Greece finally became an independent kingdom, under Otho of Bavaria.

Lord Goderich succeeded Canning, but he held office for only a few months; in January, 1828, the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister. The chief question of the day was the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. The great mob orator, O'Connell, had an unbounded influence over his countrymen; and while he persuaded them to refuse to pay tithes, he levied upon them a heavy "rent" for the support of the agitation which he directed. He found that he might offer himself as a candidate, although he could not sit in Parliament, and his return for Clare led to a reconsideration of the question. Canning had been favourable to this measure, and the Duke of Wellington strongly opposed to it. But now, he felt that he could resist the Catholic claims no longer; and on the 13th of April, 1829, the Catholic Relief Bill received the royal assent. Henceforth O'Con-

nell took up the repeal of the union between England and Ireland as his rallying cry.

On the 25th of June, 1830, George IV. died, little regretted, and was succeeded by his brother William, Duke of Clarence. In the same year a new revolution took place in France.

Louis XVIII. had done his best to be faithful to the constitution. He died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles X.

The policy of the new sovereign was as reactionary as possible, and his minister, Prince Polignac, endeavoured even more zealously to bring back the tyranny of the *Ancien Régime.* They attempted to set aside the Charter which Louis XVIII. had faithfully maintained, to annihilate the press, and to govern by means of arbitrary decrees (ordonnances). Even the conquest of Algiers under Marshal Bourmont (July 4th, 1830) failed to diminish the unpopularity of the government.

The three celebrated "ordonnances"[1] were signed on the 25th July. On the 27th the police seized the newspapers and destroyed the printing-presses amidst much disturbance, and on Wednesday the 28th barricades rose in all directions throughout Paris. The Hôtel de Ville was seized by the insurgents, but the King would make no concessions. The troops refused to fire on the people, Paris was in the hands of the Revolutionists, the King abdicated and set sail for Spithead. So ended the "three glorious days" of July 1830.

The Duke of Orleans, a cousin of Charles X., became the "Citizen King," Louis Philippe.

Belgium revolted, and separated itself from Holland in this year, and with the assistance of England and France became an independent kingdom under Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg in 1831.

[1] The first was to suspend the liberty of the Press, the second to dissolve the Parliament, and the third to set aside the Charter. A meeting of journalists was held to protest against the first of these decrees, at the head of whom was Adolphe Thiers, at that time editor of the *National.*

The disturbances in Paris produced considerable excitement in England. The Duke of Wellington peremptorily refused to entertain the question of parliamentary reform, and was forced to retire from office. He was succeeded by Earl Grey, who came in on the declaration of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." The Reform Bill was carried after a year and a half of tempestuous excitement, and the first Reformed Parliament met under the ministry of Lord Grey on February 5th, 1833. One of its first measures was the total abolition of slavery. In June 1834 Lord Grey was replaced by Viscount Melbourne. The *New Poor Law Bill*, which had for some time been preparing by a commission headed by Nassau William Senior, became law under this administration. In December of the same year the King, for whom his ministers were too liberal, suddenly dismissed them, and sent for the Duke of Wellington, who held every office in the cabinet until his colleague, Sir Robert Peel, came back in all haste from Italy.

Peel on his return promised and endeavoured to carry out Liberal measures, but Parliament would not trust him, and after two or three parliamentary defeats he resigned office in April 1835.

Meanwhile Louis Philippe was endeavouring to rule by means of the middle classes; the government interfered largely in the elections, bribery and corruption prevailed to a great extent, and there was a growing disaffection on the part of the more liberal members of the Chamber.

Russia, Austria, and Prussia were using every exertion to fetter the press and extinguish liberty in their dominions, and by her warlike advance in Circassia, Russia, which had been steadily advancing in civilization and power, threatened to obtain the mastery in the Black Sea. She terminated a series of successful aggressions on Turkey by the treaty of Adrianople (Sept. 14, 1829), which was eminently favourable to herself. In 1830 a revolution broke out at Warsaw, and spread to Wilna and Volhynia. It was suppressed by the Russians

in 1831, and the Emperor Nicholas incorporated the Kingdom of Poland with the Russian Empire. Cracow, which had been declared a free state under the protection of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, was invaded on some trifling pretext by the three powers in 1836, and occupied by the Austrians, who afterwards took advantage of an insignificant insurrection on the part of the inhabitants in 1846 to incorporate Cracow in the Austrian dominions.

Affairs wore a threatening aspect throughout Europe when William IV. died, in June 1837, and the English nation enthusiastically welcomed the accession of his niece, the young Princess Victoria. There was great need of her popularity, for two bad seasons had occasioned a scarcity; Ireland was disturbed, and Canada in open rebellion. The English settlers in that colony joined their efforts to those of the troops. Lord Durham was sent out as Governor-General, and by means of a firm but judicious clemency the revolt was quickly subdued. The union of the two provinces immediately followed (February 18th, 1840).

On the 10th of February the fortunate alliance of Queen Victoria with her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, took place.

In 1840 was formed the Quadruple Alliance between England, Austria, Prussia and Russia, for the protection of the Sultan of Turkey against his vassal Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, whose intrigues were fomented by France, and whose army occupied Syria and threatened to advance upon Constantinople. The British fleet was successful in driving the Viceroy's army out of Syria, and Mehemet Ali was suffered to retain Egypt as a hereditary Viceroyalty.

In 1842 England had a successful but inglorious war with China, and in the same year she met with terrible reverses in Cabul, where an English army was cut to pieces in the Khyber Pass. The honour of her arms was vindicated by the occupation of the country, after which the English troops were peacefully withdrawn from

Cabul. Scinde was conquered by Sir Charles Napier in the following year (battle of Meeanee, February 17, 1843), and in 1845–46 the Sikhs were repulsed and the Punjaub conquered by Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough. (Battles of Ferozeshah, December 22, 1845; Sobraon, February 10, 1846.)

The most important of the questions which moved the English nation at home was the Repeal of the Corn Laws. It was rendered necessary by the growing discontent occasioned by the dearness of food.

An extension of political rights was demanded by the working classes. Their demands were embodied in a charter consisting of five points:—1. Universal suffrage. 2. Vote by ballot. 3. Annual Parliaments. 4. Payment of members. 5. Abolition of a property qualification. The riots occasioned by the Chartists were quickly put down and the ringleaders punished.

The Anti-Corn-Law League was now formed by some of the most enlightened men of the day, among whom were Cobden, Bright, and Charles Villiers. Their arguments were strictly in accordance with the principles of political economy, a science which rose into importance at this period. Although his interest lay with the Protectionists, Sir Robert Peel could not avoid being convinced by his opponents. A terrible famine in Ireland came to their aid, and Peel braved the charge of inconsistency by bringing in a bill for securing free trade in corn in 1846. Immediately after passing this great measure he retired from office.

The government endeavoured by every means to mitigate the sufferings of the Irish consequent on the failure of the potato, but in spite of public and private exertions numbers of people died, and a great impetus was given to emigration.

Meanwhile France was growing daily more and more tired of her Citizen King, and the *entente cordiale* between France and England had been seriously compromised by the aggressions of French officers in the Pacific islands, and by the practical renewal of the

"family compact" with Spain. In 1833 Ferdinand died, and civil war broke out again between the partisans of his daughter Isabella and those of his brother, Don Carlos. The party of Queen Isabella ultimately gained the day. She had been supported by Louis Philippe, who now, in spite of the remonstrances of the British Cabinet, succeeded in marrying Isabella to her cousin, Don Francisco, and at the same time her sister the Infanta to his youngest son, the Duke of Montpensier, with a view to the succession to the throne. The double marriages of the Queen and the Infanta took place according to Louis Philippe's wishes on the 10th of October, 1846.

The demands on the part of Louis Philippe for the establishment of his children, together with the restrictions on the press and on the liberty of public speaking, exasperated the French, and in February 1848 a disturbance broke out, which, owing to the hesitation of the King, grew into a revolution, and ended in his abdication and the proclamation of a republic. Once more a King of France was seen flying to England, where he remained until his death in 1850.

A Provisional government was set up in Paris, of which Lamartine was the most influential member. In the following June there was an outbreak on the part of the Red Republicans, but they were put down after three days' desperate fighting in the streets.

The French Revolution of 1848 shook every throne on the Continent. An attempted revolution in Prussia was put down, and the King promised his subjects a constitution. Shortly afterwards there was an abortive attempt to form a united German empire, and the King of Prussia declined the imperial crown (April 29th, 1849). The King of Bavaria abdicated in favour of his son, and the Emperor of Austria in favour of his nephew. Hungary rose, but the revolt was put down, with the aid of Russia.

Italy now attempted to shake off the Austrian rule, which she had in vain risen against in 1820. Pope Pius IX., who in 1846 had begun his long reign with liberal principles, which were received enthusiastically by his

subjects, now became frightened, and endeavoured to go back. He was forced, however, to send a contingent to the army of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, who led the van in the war of liberation. This disastrous campaign ended in the battle of Novara, between Sardinia and Austria (March 23rd, 1849), and Charles Albert, who was utterly defeated, abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel. The Pope had been driven from Rome, but was restored by a French army under General Oudinot, and the French troops remained at Rome. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which had revolted with some success, was forced once more to submit to its bigoted and tyrannical sovereign, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had been obliged to fly, was restored by Austria to his unwilling subjects (July 1850).

Owing in a great measure to the steady maintenance by Queen Victoria of her position as a constitutional sovereign, the French Revolution of 1848 produced very little echo in England. A great Chartist demonstration on the 10th of April was the most striking result. Several processions of the disaffected marched through the streets to Kennington Common, but 200,000 of the middle and upper classes were sworn in as special constables, and the demonstration excited more contempt than alarm. Amongst those arrayed on the side of order was Prince Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great Emperor.

A few months afterwards Louis Napoleon was elected President of the French Republic by universal suffrage, and swore to observe the constitution. At first he appeared disposed to govern in accordance with his oath, but as time went on the encroachments of the President and the resistance of the Assembly made their relative positions untenable, and on the 2nd December, 1851, the Assembly was surrounded with troops, the most influential members imprisoned, and Louis Napoleon proclaimed President for another ten years. In the words of Tocqueville, "the army seized France, bound and gagged her, and laid her at the feet of its ruler." This was the celebrated *coup d'état*. Hundreds were killed in the

streets, many more who were supposed to be hostile to the government were shipped off to die in the marshes of Cayenne, others disappeared and were heard of no more. The President became nearly absolute, and proclaimed himself Emperor in the following year with the title of Napoleon III.

Three months before the *coup d'état*, the successful rival in war of the first Napoleon—the great Duke of Wellington—died at the age of 83 (14th September, 1852).

PART III.

(1852 to 1874.)

The reign of peace, which had practically lasted between the European nations ever since the Treaty of Vienna, was interrupted soon after 1852 by the aggressions of Russia in the Black Sea. She looked upon Turkey as her lawful prey, as a hopelessly "sick man," whose death it was rather merciful to expedite; and a dispute, originating in the relative claims of the Greek and Latin Churches, led, after protracted and futile negotiations, to the outbreak of hostilities. Russia seized the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and on her rejection of the intervention of the four powers, England joined with France in enforcing their evacuation.

The magnitude of the enterprise was not at first appreciated, and sufficient preparations were not made for the long campaign which followed.

Part of the British fleet held the Baltic, while the remainder, joined by the French, sailed into the Black Sea. The war began in the Danubian Principalities, but it soon concentrated itself in the Crimea, where the English and French armies disembarked on the 14th September, 1854.

The Russians were encamped on the hills overlooking the river Alma, and on September 20th the allies, under

Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, successfully stormed the heights and drove the enemy back into the stronghold of Sebastopol.

Lord Raglan wished to push on and carry Sebastopol by storm, but he was overruled by St. Arnaud, and the allies encamped before it and began the ordinary preparations for a siege.

One of the first incidents in the siege took place on the 25th October—the celebrated Balaklava charge, which displayed the extraordinary discipline and gallantry of the British soldiers. Owing to a misunderstanding of Lord Raglan's orders, the "Light Brigade," numbering 607 men, charged a Russian battery. Only 198 returned, after inflicting a loss of 550 killed and 190 wounded, on the enemy. A few days afterwards, on the 5th of November, at 6 in the morning, 40,000 Russians crept up and, in the midst of a dense fog, surprised 3,500 of the English, who fought them hand to hand, unassisted, until 9.30, when the French came up. At 11 the battle appeared to be won, and the French retired, but the fighting continued until 1 P.M., when the English were finally victorious. This was the battle of Inkermann.

A dreadful storm on the 15th of November sank the provision ships of the English, and hunger was added to the miseries of the campaign. During this winter their sufferings were intense, and the accounts received of them caused much dissatisfaction with the ministers at home.

In February 1855, Lord Aberdeen was replaced in the post of Prime Minister by Lord Palmerston; the Emperor Nicholas died in March, but still the war went on. After one or two unsuccessful assaults, Sebastopol was taken on the 8th of September, 1855. England had by this time learned to use her strength, and it would have been for her interest to prolong the war, but the French soldiers suffered almost as much in the second winter as the English had done during the first; disease thinned their ranks, Louis Napoleon began to feel a strain on the resources of the country, and was now as anxious to end

the war as he had been to begin it. The strength of Russia was so much impaired that she was only too happy to put an end to hostilities; negotiations were entered into, and a peace was concluded on the 30th of March, 1856, by which Russia relinquished the right of intervention in the affairs of Turkey, given to her by the treaty of Adrianople, and that of maintaining a fleet in the Black Sea. The latter restriction was removed in 1871.

The English troops were not long to be without employment. In the month of October there was a dispute with China, and Lord Elgin was despatched to Singapore to open negotiations. When he reached the east, however, he heard some news that induced him to alter the destination of the troops which were following him; for the natives of India believed that the moment was come when, in accordance with ancient prophecy, they were to throw off the yoke of England, which they had endured for 100 years. The terrible Indian mutiny had been long preparing, and was intended to be a general massacre of the white faces. It broke out on the occasion of some unaccustomed cartridges, supposed to be greased with cow's fat, being served out to a native regiment in the month of January, 1857. These cartridges were immediately discontinued, yet regiment after regiment mutinied, and had to be disbanded. On the 10th of May a more serious outbreak took place at Meerut. It was quickly put down, but the fugitives escaped to Delhi, seized the city, set up as their sovereign the titular King of Delhi, a descendant of the Mogul Emperors, and committed the most frightful atrocities. The siege of Delhi was at once undertaken by the aid of reinforcements from the Punjaub, but the city was not recaptured until the following September.

Meanwhile the English garrison at Cawnpore, on the banks of the Ganges, was surrounded by an army of insurgents, under the command of the infamous Nana Sahib, whose promises induced the English general, Sir Henry Wheeler, when the case was becoming desperate, to surrender. Nana Sahib, instead of allowing

the English to retire unmolested as he had promised, at once killed all except 150 women and children, whom he afterwards massacred in cold blood on the victorious approach of General Havelock, who, at the head of 2,000 troops, retook Cawnpore, on the 16th July. Havelock defeated the rebels again at Bithoor, and, joined by General Outram, who, although sent out as a superior officer, fought under him as a volunteer, proceeded to relieve the residency of Lucknow, then reduced to the last extremity by a protracted siege. After desperate fighting and terrible losses, Havelock and Outram penetrated into the residency (Sept. 25), but their strength was so diminished, that they were unable to withdraw the garrison. They therefore joined their forces to those of General Neill, extended the fortifications, and remained on the defensive.

By this time troops were arriving every day from England, and Sir Colin Campbell had been appointed Commander-in-Chief. He reached Cawnpore on the 3rd of November, and met Havelock and Outram on the outskirts of Lucknow on the 18th; but it was not until the middle of the following March that, after successive assaults, the garrison of Lucknow was at last set free. The remainder of the war was conducted with the utmost skill by Sir Colin Campbell, who was during the campaign raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Clyde. The Punjaub was saved by the sagacity of Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery. The native princes with scarcely an exception adhered to the British, and the Madras Presidency remained at peace throughout. Oude, of which Lucknow was the capital, and which had been annexed to the British dominions by Lord Dalhousie on the very eve of the mutiny, was the most disaffected of all the provinces; it was not finally subdued until January 1859. Soon afterwards the East India Company (established 1600) was abolished, the army amalgamated with that of the mother country, and the Queen of England added to her other titles that of Empress of India.

While England was engaged in this anxious struggle, the rest of Europe was by no means at peace. The little kingdom of Sardinia had for some time been growing in importance. She had sent a contingent which did good service in the Crimea, and her great statesman, Count Cavour, was allowed a voice in the subsequent negotiations. The object of his schemes was nothing less than the liberation of Italy, which had become, according to her conquerors, a mere geographical designation. Cavour counted on the assistance of France, for the Emperor was known to sympathize with his cause, and in fact, in early days, had belonged to the secret patriotic association of the Carbonari, and was bound by their laws to help them. As years passed on and nothing was done, they became impatient, and Orsini and four others attempted to assassinate Louis Napoleon on the 14th of January, 1858.

The colonels of the French army addressed a congratulatory letter to the Emperor, reflecting at the same time on England for harbouring assassins, because some of the conspirators had resided there. The tone of this letter was so threatening that it awoke a burst of indignation throughout England. For a moment war appeared probable, and its anticipation gave rise to the formation of the large volunteer force which has become a permanent auxiliary of the British army. Surprised at the warlike spirit thus displayed, Louis Napoleon, after the first irritation had subsided, endeavoured to calm the French nation, and soon afterwards inclined a favourable ear to the proposals of Cavour, who was increasing the Sardinian army to an extent which excited the suspicions of Austria, who sent a peremptory message to Sardinia to disarm, but Cavour, being able to count upon the assistance of France, declined to submit to this demand, and in spite of the attempted mediation of England, warlike preparations went on, and on the first day of the New Year the Emperor Napoleon addressed a menacing speech to the Austrian ambassador, Baron Hübner. The Austrian

army crossed the Ticino on the 1st of May, 1859, and on the 13th the French army joined the Sardinians, Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel commanding in person. After some preliminary skirmishes the battle of Magenta, in which the Austrians were defeated, was fought on the 4th of June, and was followed by the victory of Solferino on the 24th. After these two victories, Louis Napoleon, seeing dangers ahead, agreed to an armistice, and forgetting a promise with which he had opened the war, to "free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic," patched up a hasty peace at Villa Franca on the 11th of July, by which Austria surrendered Lombardy to Louis Napoleon through whom it was transferred to Sardinia.

Cavour was indignant at this check in the full tide of conquest. He immediately resigned, and Rattazzi became Prime Minister. But the spirit of Italian patriotism was far from contenting itself with the terms of Villa Franca. The duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, which Louis Napoleon had agreed to restore to their former rulers, one and all chose Victor Emmanuel for their king, and their example was followed by Bologna and the Æmilia, which threw off the Papal government. This movement was secretly supported by Cavour, who continued to sway the destinies of Italy from his country house at Leri. Louis Napoleon insisted upon receiving the provinces of Nice and Savoy as the condition of his assent to the aggrandisement of Victor Emmanuel, and Cavour was recalled to the premiership in January 1860, to give his official support. The cession of these provinces was never forgiven by Garibaldi, a hero who was now to attract the attention of Europe, and whose character proved a marked contrast to that of his rival Cavour. Unable to endure the slow progress of events, and neither discouraged nor openly supported by the government, in the following May Garibaldi set out on an expedition to Sicily, at the head of a small band of devoted followers. In three months he had conquered the island, and on the 18th of August crossed over to Calabria. Everywhere he was welcomed by an enthusiastic popu-

lation; Francis II. fled before him to his army at Gaeta, and on the 7th of September Garibaldi entered Naples without opposition.

These revolutionary proceedings greatly alarmed Pius IX., who fourteen years previously had been a leading champion of Italian liberty, but under the influence of his minister Cardinal Antonelli, had now become one of its strongest opponents. He placed General Lamoricière at the head of an army collected from all countries, ready to fight for the Papacy, and to support Francis II., who threatened an invasion of his former dominions from Gaeta, while Austria from Mantua and Verona was preparing to join in their cause. Cavour hesitated no longer, but determined at once to take possession of the Papal states in Umbria and the Marches, already in open revolt, push forward the army to Naples and Sicily, and wrest from Garibaldi the leadership of the nation. The deputations from those provinces demanding immediate annexation were favourably listened to, Cardinal Antonelli was summoned in the name of Italy to disband his mercenaries, the Sardinian army crossed the frontier, and the fleet set sail for the Adriatic. The Sardinians defeated the Papal troops at Castelfidardo on the 18th September, besieged and took Ancona (29th September, 1860) and entered the kingdom of Naples, under Victor Emmanuel, on the 15th of October, having taken Lamoricière prisoner, and scattered his army to the winds.

Garibaldi had meanwhile defeated the Neapolitan troops in the battle of Volturno, and driven them under the guns of Gaeta. The two victorious armies met at Capua, and Garibaldi was the first to salute Victor Emmanuel with the title of King of Italy.

But while Rome and Venice were still severed from the rest of Italy, Garibaldi did not consider his work as accomplished, and it was with great mortification that he found himself obliged to yield to men of more moderate views, bid farewell to his army, and retire to his home in the island of Caprera.

The first Italian Parliament assembled at Turin in the

following February 1861, and in June the great minister Cavour died, at the early age of fifty-two. Soon after his death, Louis Napoleon, to put an end to the Italian cry for Rome as the capital of the new kingdom, forced Victor Emmanuel to make Florence his capital. Deprived of her master spirit, Italy for a time ceased to advance.

Extreme distress was at this time prevalent in the manufacturing districts of England, on account of the American war, which stopped the supply of cotton. There had long been a growing hostility between the Northern and Southern States. The North was far more prosperous and populous than the South, and the principles adopted by its candidates for the Presidency were diametrically opposed to those put forward by the South, which advocated the institution of slavery and free trade, while the North was for limiting the area of slavery and for a highly protective tariff. At length, on the election of the Northern or Republican candidate, President Lincoln, in 1860, seven of the Southern States determined on secession, and elected Mr. Jefferson Davis as their President in the following February. On the 12th of April, 1861, the Southern forces attacked and carried Fort Sumter, four other states joined the Southern Confederates, and civil war began. At first the South was victorious; but after a struggle of three years, during which much heroism was shown by both parties, and the emancipation of all negro slaves was declared by President Lincoln, the North, which had the advantage both in wealth and population, prevailed, and early in April, 1865, the war virtually ended by the battle of Richmond, and the subsequent surrender of the Confederate army, under General Lee. Three days afterwards President Lincoln, whose firmness, sagacity, and patriotism had won universal admiration, was assassinated in a theatre at Boston, by a fanatic named Booth.

England had endeavoured to preserve a strict neutrality during this war. Both parties were therefore indignant with her, and the North especially was furious at the

depredations committed by the *Alabama* and other cruisers, built in England, but which were armed in foreign waters, and had escaped from English ports. After seven years of discussion, England consented to refer the question of compensation claimed by America to foreign arbitration. The arbitrators met at Geneva, and to the amazement of all sober judges, awarded to America an indemnity of three millions and a half.

In 1863 Prince George of Denmark was elected King of Greece, whence Otho of Bavaria had been dismissed. England soon afterwards gave up the Ionian Islands, which were henceforth annexed to Greece.

In October 1865 the veteran statesman, Lord Palmerston, who had resumed office in 1859, died, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Earl Russell, who resigned on the failure of a measure for extending the suffrage, and was succeeded by a Tory administration under Lord Derby;—two years afterwards, in 1868, a still more extensive measure of reform than had been proposed by Lord Russell was passed by Mr. Disraeli.

In 1865 Prussia was rising enormously in importance, under the guidance of Count Bismarck. The duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, which formed part of the German Confederation, but whose Duke was at the same time King of Denmark, with which they had no constitutional connection, had against their will been deprived of their separate existence and rights by that country. After years of useless remonstrance, the German Diet, in 1864, decreed the restitution of these rights, and committed the execution of this decree to troops from Saxony and Hanover; but the matter was taken out of their hands by the march of a joint army of Prussians and Austrians. After a gallant but hopeless resistance, the Danish troops were driven from the two duchies and Lauenburg in October 1864.

Prussia would have liked to annex the duchies, or, at any rate, to place at their head a prince who should be entirely under the influence of the court of Berlin. Austria on the other hand wished to form them into

an independent state, so as to balance the power of Prussia. The duchies were a bone of contention throughout the following year, and the old rivalry for supremacy in Germany between Austria and Prussia broke out with renewed vigour. In the month of August the rival sovereigns met at Gastein, and apparently made up their differences; but Prussia soon began to exhibit her dissatisfaction with the result of this convention. She secured Italy, which was always on the look-out to obtain Venetia, as an ally, and began to arm, as also did Austria. The great struggle for the German supremacy was now entered upon.

The superior extent and importance of Austria inclined the rest of the world to believe that she would be the gainer in a struggle which was expected to be long and difficult; but, besides her great minister Bismarck, Prussia possessed the elements of success in her admirable military organization, in her commander-in-chief, Moltke, and other generals, among whom Prince Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince were two of the most distinguished. The Prussian army, which took the offensive by marching into Bohemia, met with scarcely a reverse, and the war, which lasted only seven weeks, terminated with the bloody victory of Sadowa or Königgrätz, which was fought on July 3rd, 1866, and entirely crippled the power of Austria, which was forced to withdraw from all influence in Germany. The Germanic Confederation was broken up. Hanover and other states of North Germany which had taken part with Austria, were joined to Prussia in a North-German Confederation, of which she was the predominant member, while those south of the Main were soon bound to her by military conventions. The Italian army under Garibaldi and La Marmora, and the fleet under Persano, had met with nothing but reverses; yet Austria, which at the outset of the war had resolved to give up Venetia when victory enabled her to do so with honour, surrendered it to the Emperor of the French, who handed it over to Victor Emmanuel. France asked for the frontiers of the Rhine as some

compensation for the increase of Prussian power; but Bismarck could afford to treat the proposal with scorn, and it was immediately withdrawn.

France still kept the Pope in the possession of temporal power in spite of the general desire of Italy to obtain Rome as the capital. The impatient spirit of Garibaldi could not brook this delay, and in spite of the formal prohibition of his sovereign, he made two unsuccessful attempts to take possession of the Eternal City. Pius IX. continued to issue violent allocutions, and to publish new doctrines. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed in 1868, and in 1869 he summoned an Œcumenical Council, which met in the following year, and in which his own infallibility was declared.

In France the empire was growing daily more and more unpopular. In 1862 Louis Napoleon had tried to amuse his people with a war against the republic of Mexico, which turned out ill, and ended in the execution of the heroic Archduke Maximilian, who had accepted the crown of Mexico at Napoleon's hands. It seemed as if nothing but a successful war or an accession of territory could restore the popularity of the emperor and establish his dynasty. He endeavoured in 1867 to obtain from the King of Holland the cession of the duchy of Luxembourg, a part of the German Confederation, but Bismarck violently opposed him, and the dispute ended in the neutralization of the duchy.

Mutual distrust continued to subsist between France and Prussia, and when, on the forced abdication of Queen Isabella of Spain, in consequence of a revolt of the Spanish troops, a prince of Hohenzollern was invited to ascend the Spanish throne, Louis Napoleon saw his way to an open quarrel. He believed his army to be in the highest point of efficiency, he was egged on by evil counsellors, and although, on the remonstrance of England, and by the advice of Prussia, the candidature of the prince was withdrawn, Louis Napoleon declared war on the 15th July, 1870. Prussia was joined by all the minor German states, Austria remaining neutral.

The war opened with a series of astounding victories on the part of Prussia, which from the first took the part of assailant, culminating in the utter defeat of the French at Sedan, on the 2nd of September. On the next day the Emperor surrendered himself and his entire army prisoners of war to the King of Prussia. Paris went nearly mad with rage and disappointment when the news reached the capital, the Emperor was deposed, and the Empress, who was acting as regent, fled to England. A Provisional Government was formed, which opened negotiations for peace. These, however, came to nothing, in consequence of a declaration of the foreign minister, Jules Favre, that not a stone of the French fortresses, nor an inch of French territory should be ceded. The Prussians continued to advance, and Paris was soon encircled by the enemy. The siege lasted 131 days. After enduring horrible privations, and making several unsuccessful sorties, the town was forced to surrender on 28th January, 1871. At the same time a general armistice was agreed upon. This was followed by a treaty of peace (26th February, 1871), under which the French gave up Alsace and Lorraine, consented to dismantle several fortresses and to pay the enormous indemnity of 200 millions sterling.

Pending these events, the King of Prussia was elected German Emperor (18th January, 1871); the distinction between the two confederations north and south of the Main was done away, and a new constitution for the whole empire was drawn up.

When the French troops were withdrawn in consequence of the war, the Italian troops entered Rome after a faint resistance, and the city became the capital of the kingdom of Italy on the 9th October, 1870.

The son of Victor Emmanuel was elected sovereign of Spain in November 1870, but the Spaniards soon grew tired of their foreign king, although he displayed great courage and sagacity; and several attempts were made to assassinate him. At length, finding that he could obtain no real influence, he laid down the crown, and

returned to Italy early in the year 1873. Since that time Spain has been in a state of constant revolution.

In Paris the Red Republicans were indignant with the terms which had been agreed upon by the government: they seized the Hôtel de Ville, shot two generals of the National Guard (March 18, 1871); and the National Assembly, with M. Thiers, who had been chosen by it as President, at its head, escaped to Versailles. A second siege of Paris by French troops took place on the 24th of May; the insurgents, being hopelessly defeated, revenged themselves by setting fire to the town in many places, and shooting their hostages. But the government, which had established its seat at Versailles, ultimately prevailed, and M. Thiers remained president of the French Republic until the end of 1873, when he was overthrown by a vote of the Assembly, and replaced by Marshal MacMahon.

In England Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister who succeeded Mr. Disraeli in December 1868, passed several very important measures: (disestablishment of the Irish Church, Irish Land Act, extension of public education in England, abolition of purchase in the army, and finally the establishment of voting by ballot). Towards the end of the year 1873 Mr. Gladstone, finding his majority daily diminishing, dissolved Parliament. The new House of Commons which was elected in February, 1874, proved more Conservative than any which had been assembled since 1841. Mr. Gladstone therefore retired, and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli at the head of a Conservative government in February 1874. During the various continental disturbances, England maintained a strict neutrality; but she was involved in two distant contests with savage tribes—with Abyssinia in the year 1871, and with the Ashantees, in Western Africa, in 1873-4—and on both occasions her troops met with rapid and complete success.

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